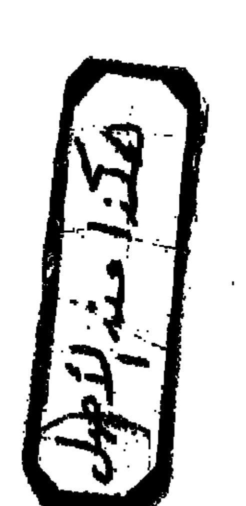


The German Tribune

Eighth Year - No. 352 - By Air
Hamburg, 7 January 1969

A WEEKLY REVIEW OF THE GERMAN PRESS

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Prospects of peace and goodwill in the New Year



Looking back at world politics in 1968 it must be said that the balance of power has been most unstable. In recent years this has usually been the case but *this year there has been an increasing* amount of domestic unrest in many large and small countries and social and political systems in nearly all parts of the world.

Acts of violence such as the assassination of American Negro leader Martin Luther King and Democratic Senator Robert Kennedy have given rise to extreme tension in the United States, long considered to be the most powerful stabilising factor in the Western world. Protest marches by the poor have even turned Washington into a centre of mass demonstrations and riots.

It is, perhaps, less surprising that there has been a similar hue and cry in a number of Latin American countries but France too has undergone a succession of student riots and mass strikes, forcing *General de Gaulle to mobilise the entire* weight of the executive and have his personal authority reaffirmed at the polls. Similar events shook Italy for a number of weeks as well.

Leading Egyptian commentators view the serious student unrest that has shaken a country of such political importance for the Middle East as the strictly-governed United Arab Republic as a merely temporary state of affairs. Elsewhere the riots have been seen as the herald of further political convulsions.

In African countries such as Mali and Nigeria internal tension has already led to a change of regime or protracted civil war. Even a regime as proud of its inner stability as Field Marshal Ayub Khan's in Pakistan has had to weather stormy *opposition demonstrations.*

In China Chairman Mao has finally succeeded in eliminating his communist opponent Liu Shao-chi but clearly needed to resort to further violence to do so.

World opinion has been most moved by the course of events in communist Eastern Europe. As long as it was only a matter of opposition demonstrations such as were put down by the police in Warsaw and other Polish university towns and appeased by Marshal Tito's adept policy of compromise in Yugoslavia it was only a domestic affair.

But the reform movement that swept through Czechoslovakia, the westernmost of Eastern Bloc countries, in January led not only to the removal from office of nearly *all prominent politicians in Prague,* including President Novotny, but also gave rise to reactions on the part of other Eastern Bloc countries, particularly the Soviet Union, which was not satisfied by the declaration of continued loyalty to the Warsaw Pact made by the new men in *the Czech capital.*

The invasion of Czechoslovakia by Soviet, East German, Polish and other troops on 21 August was followed by a far-reaching if incomplete *gleichschaltung* of Czech policies.

Was all that happened in Czechoslovakia a kind of revolt by an ally against Moscow and its militarily perfect but psychologically inadequate oppression? The Russians set great store by this interpretation in explaining the reasons for intervention to the non-communist world.

Moscow would hear nothing of any intention on its part to bring about a change in the balance of power between East and West. The West too has restrained from responding with spectacular military or autonomous counter-measures. Both sides remained interested in preventing agitation at the suppression of moves towards Czechoslovak independence from triggering off a new international arms race.

A new arms race would not only have jeopardised the success of the non-proliferation treaty, which has recently and only with the greatest of difficulty been finalised but has yet to be ratified in most of the countries concerned, including the United States.

It would also lead to the development *of hugely expensive anti-missile systems.* The financial burden would act as a brake on the further economic development of even the United States and the Soviet Union.

As the year draws to a close efforts are being made on all sides to patch together *the remnants of international trust,* shattered by the invasion of Czechoslovakia. The Kremlin's first contribution towards re-establishment of the international basis on which detente policies can be reactivated has been partial withdrawal of the occupation troops that invaded Czecho*slovakia in August and the resulting ap*proval of the present state of affairs given by the new men in Prague.

The White House has also tried to bring about a gradual end to the most serious obstacle to relaxation of tension between East and West by agreeing to negotiate with the Vietnamese Communists about an armistice and a possible peace settlement.

The Paris talks, which have dragged on for many months without achieving much in the way of results except on procedural points, seem likely to be continued by President-elect Nixon. The alternative would be a return to international chaos.

As the New Year is ushered in there is, then, a first glimpse of the prospect of *consolidation of the balance of power.* France and Britain are also interested in international stability, not least because of the economic difficulties they could not have mastered without foreign assistance.

And by remaining ready to bring about a measure of détente in relations with its *neighbours in the East even in the face* of strong counter-winds and keeping an open mind on the non-proliferation treaty this country has retained the possibility of taking part in a new general attempt to pursue a policy of peace.

Immanuel Birnbaum
(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 27 December 1968)



'Calling Houston! UFOs on all sides!'
(Cartoon: E. M. Lang/Süddeutsche Zeitung)

IN THIS ISSUE

Moon not made of green cheese after all, poets learn

Poets will no longer be able to extol the Moon's gentle light and silent course, the friend of lovers everywhere. The myth was dispelled by the voices of America's Apollo 8 astronauts coming over loud and clear on the TV screen from a distance of 200,000 miles.

The Moon, viewers were told, is cold and grey, looking like charred plaster of Paris. Generations of poets have been wrong and nations too that have succumbed to the Moon's Romantic charm and used it as an emblem to adorn flags and top mosques.

For millenia the Moon has been worshipped, regarded as a vital factor in fertility and provided food for thought. The lie has *now been given,* the magic is gone.

Does this not amount to fresh evidence that reality is no match for the imagination? Familiarity breeds contempt once the distant glow is seen for what it is.

Sober thinkers will feel their contentions confirmed. A secret that has been solved usually loses its attraction and may even prove repulsive. Why should there be any difference on this occasion? After all, the Moon is only an infinitesimal part of the Universe.

But this fascination depends not on the reality but on the emotions stimulated. Even though it is now clear that the Moon is really a cold, grey, rugged desert people who prefer to do so will still think in terms of its gentle light. Reality is only relative.

(DIE WELT, 27 December 1968)

Whitehall under fire

Moscow's diplomatic bombardment of Britain, commenced a few weeks ago with the handing-over of a strongly-worded note deploring Nato's uncompromising stand on the invasion of Czechoslovakia, continues unabated, Whitehall's attitude towards the Vietnam conflict now coming under fire.

Soviet Russia claims that South Vietnamese soldiers are being trained by Britain in the techniques of jungle warfare and that the UK is disregarding altogether its obligations as co-chairman of the 1954 Geneva conference. In view of the uncooperative attitude of the other co-chairman, the Soviet Union itself, the accusation represents an alarming distortion of the facts.

The Kremlin's assertions are strongly denied in London, where Britain's only dealings with South Vietnam are stated to *comprise medical aid and economic* assistance within the framework of the Colombo Pact. The purpose of Moscow's new pinpricks, which include an *Izvestia* article naming many prominent British journalists as members of the secret service, is none too clear.

It is clear that the Soviet Union is gunning for Britain while at the same time exercising restraint towards the United States. Perhaps the intention is to persuade the new American administration that Britain is, as Moscow seems to feel, a second-rate power.

(Handelsblatt, 30 December 1968)

WORLD AFFAIRS

China turns spotlight on Europe

NO RESPONSE AS YET TO BONN'S OVERTURES

Frankfurter Allgemeine
ZEITUNG FÜR DEUTSCHLAND

Communist China is staging a foreign policy advance. The stagnation and loss of prestige resulting from excesses undergone at the height of the cultural revolution have gradually been overcome.

Consolidation at home and readiness to take a more realistic view of affairs are accompanied by activity on the international political scene that makes Peking a more interesting factor in world affairs.

Peking is no longer content with revolutionary slogans and polemical declamation. The Chinese leaders are making an attempt to regain lost ground.

Events in Czechoslovakia provided Peking with a favourable starting-point from which to reactivate its foreign policy. No communist party has condemned the invasion more vehemently than the Chinese. From one day to the next Chinese politicians and pressmen turned the spotlight on European problems.

Special attention was paid to Albania, Peking's bridgehead in the West. The chief of the Chinese general staff visited Tirana. His speeches made it quite clear that China is ready to provide its ally on the Adriatic with any assistance, including military, in the event of a Soviet threat.

Other Balkan countries were also indirectly lent political and moral assistance by Peking and ever since the peoples of Eastern Europe have continually been called on to resist Moscow's alleged aggressive, imperialist and social-fascist hegemonial policies.

It is easy to guess why Peking has suddenly changed its tune. The mistrust and revulsion that Soviet power politics in Central Europe have occasioned everywhere have provided the Chinese leadership with a welcome opportunity to brush up their own image.

Peking sees chance to brush up image

Peking is utilising Moscow's mistake to undermine the CPSU's claim to ideological leadership of the international communist movement. It has grasped the opportunity of forging fresh links and gaining in credibility after the losses sustained in the hue and cry of the cultural revolution.

It may, of course, also be the case that the justification of Soviet intervention as contained in the Brezhnev doctrine has given rise to fears in Peking of the same kind as the suspicions harboured in Bucharest or Belgrade, even if these fears apply only to the remote western province of Sinkiang, China's nuclear research centre.

At all events Premier Chou En-lai has been talking in terms of a grave threat to China's 4,000-mile-long northern frontier.

Whatever motives the Chinese leadership may have it has become abundantly clear in the last few weeks that Moscow is now the arch-enemy in Peking. During his visit to Tirana the chief of the Chinese general staff launched into root-and-branch condemnation of the provocative and ominous appearance of the Soviet navy in the Mediterranean. He had not a single word to say about the presence there of the American Sixth Fleet.

China's offer to resume the Warsaw talks between the US and Chinese ambassadors is even stronger stuff. Out of the blue Peking mentioned in an aside one of the original reasons for the talks, the signing of an agreement on the five principles of peaceful coexistence. For years the very idea of a treaty of this kind between China and the United States had been held to be absurd.

It would be wrong to indulge in wishful thinking and imagine that an immediate change in the balance of world power is likely to result form the change in emphasis of China's foreign policy. As yet only the priorities of hatred have changed in Peking.

In principle American imperialism is as detestable in Chinese eyes as is Soviet revisionism. Regular attempts are made in Peking to underline the similarity of interests between America and the Soviet Union and their tendency to divide the world into two spheres of influence.

For this reason Peking continually calls on the peoples of the world to resist American and Soviet ambitions. Not long ago Chou En-lai proclaimed a unitary front of all threatened, exploited and oppressed peoples against the two great powers.

This latest slogan has much in common with the theory of intermediate countries proclaimed some years ago but forgotten in the wake of the cultural revolution. Peking sees as its potential allies the countries that lie between Moscow and Washington. These countries include Europe even though major industrial countries are monopoly capitalist.

Mao's 1949 speech emphasised

It is no coincidence that Chinese propaganda is boosting a speech made by Mao Tse-tung in 1949 in which Mao states that China is prepared to establish diplomatic relations with any country, even imperialist or capitalist countries, as long as the principle of equality is maintained and ready to trade with all countries if benefits are likely to accrue.

This country is obviously one of the countries concerned. As yet Peking has not responded to the beginnings of a Bonn policy towards China but this silence can hardly be interpreted as final.

Harry Hamm

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 19 December 1968)

Czechoslovakia marks time on the economic front

VEGETATIVE STYLE OF GOVERNMENT

Frankfurter Rundschau
Unabhängige Tageszeitung

As was to be expected the December meeting of the Prague central committee did not result in sweeping personnel changes. Ominous advance reports of the expected enforced departure from the scene of well-known liberal politicians have for the time being not been borne out.

Nor is this surprising when it is borne in mind that the erstwhile reformers are increasingly becoming advocates of realpolitik and so acceptable to the Russians. Small wonder, then, that the names of Ministers in the new Federal government and the Czech and Slovak regional governments hardly suggest any change in the present political line.

Even so, continuity between the reform course of a few months ago and present government policies is endangered in two ways.

Premier Oldrich Cernik has increasingly adopted a more realistic attitude, as is shown by his recent advocacy of both prolonging economic reforms and forging stronger economic links with the Soviet Union.

The return to the usual governmental practices of people's democracy has also had the effect that decisions are once more being made primarily by the higher echelons of the Party, and since the process of governing by means of constant consultation with the real rulers of Prague in Moscow is a slow one the dynamism of erstwhile reform has been replaced by a more vegetative style of government.

This is nowhere more evident than in the central committee's treatment of economic problems. The chief decision taken at the December plenum appears to have been the appointment of a commission of specialists to report on the problems involved to a later session of the central committee.

Instead of reform, consolidation has taken over. Fundamental long-term decisions have been postponed and in their place short-term remedies are being sought which relate more to the symptoms than to the causes of the crisis.

The clear vision with which the economic distress of highly indistrialised Czechoslovakia was once identified has for some time been befogged by a formal optimism decreed from above and obscuring the real problems. Percentages are proclaimed that convey the impression of a prosperity that could hardly be bettered.

Incomes have increased by 5.6 per cent in real terms and private consumption has soared ten per cent, it is claimed. But the Party leadership is honest enough to destroy this illusion of prosperity by admitting that the increase in consumption has exceeded by far the prospects of supply.

Caution and courage

The quality of goods produced, the government has announced, is unsatisfactory. Too little is still produced for market requirements and too much manufactured that is not saleable. In other words, due to political circumstances Czechoslovakia has partly exhausted its reserves in this year of reform.

It was realised before 1968 that this cannot last, but although economic reform was decided in principle during the final phase of the Novotny era there is still a great deal of reluctance to allow more freedom of decision. "Socialist calculation taking profit into account" is still only a talking point.

Prior to 21 August, the day on which Soviet troops invaded the country, it was a generally acknowledged fact that the Czechoslovak economy could only be streamlined by means of modernisation with the aim of becoming competitive on Western markets.

It was permissible to state that the one-sided links with the Soviet Union in heavy industry were a main factor in the country's economic misfortunes. Now the opposite must be proclaimed. Cooperation with communist countries, particularly the Soviet Union, is made out to be a guarantee of a economic stability.

It is only with the utmost caution that mention is still made of the need for greater flexibility in economic ties with Eastern allies. The courage and power the Prague leaders still possess to carry through this demand will depend to no small extent on their success in the tricky business of streamlining the economy.

Harry Schleicher

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 17 December 1968)

The German Tribune

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Published by:
Reinecke Verlag GmbH
23, Schoene Aussicht, Hamburg 22
Tel.: 2-20-12-56 - Telex: 02-14733

Advertising-rates list No. 5

Printed by:
Krögers Buch- und Verlagsdruckerei,
Hamburg-Blankenese

All articles which THE GERMAN TRIBUNE reprints are published in cooperation with the editorial staffs of leading newspapers of the Federal Republic of Germany. They are complete translations of the original text, in no way abridged or editorially redrafted.

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Bonn aims to improve ties with communist Asia

Consideration is being given by the Foreign Office in Bonn to the problem of improving relations with communist-ruled countries in Asia once the Vietnam war is over.

It is learnt from reliable sources that there is no intention of establishing full diplomatic relations as soon as peace in Vietnam has been assured. The country towards which moves are most likely to be made is Outer Mongolia, which some time ago expressed interest in the forging of diplomatic links.

Contacts of a different kind, it is felt in Bonn, could first be established with North Korea and North Vietnam. The first step in improving relations with Peking is likely to be the setting up of a permanent office of the Confederation of Federal Republic Industry.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 13 December 1968)



POLITICS

Liberalism since war

SCHEEL HOLDS THE FORT

Liberals in the Federal Republic formed a united organization later than the two major political parties. Officially they joined forces on 12 December 1948 in Heppenheim an der Bergstraße. Theodor Heuss had invited delegates from the Liberal Democratic Parties of the three Western occupation zones to attend a joint conference in Heppenheim.

The time and place were deliberately selected as symbols, because one hundred years previously preliminary discussions on the Frankfurt national assembly were held in Heppenheim. The old liberal heritage was to illuminate the future path of the newly-founded party.

But this ideological foundation proved insubstantial even before the bases of the two major parties became shaky. As an idea liberalism had long ago burst the bounds of a political party and enriched other parties.

During its political development in the Kaiser period and again during the Weimar Republic the liberal movement was repeatedly splintered. The National Liberals under Wilhelm II were generally more national than liberal.

This contrast was inversely reflected half a century later in the struggle over the "liberal manifesto." It was accentuated most clearly at the Free Democratic Party (FDP) conference at Ems in 1952 when Reinhold Maier's group defended the liberal heritage and Martin Euler's supporters defended the "national" tradition.

To an extent it was national-liberal ideas which led post-war liberals to persist longer than other political parties in attempts to unite with people in the Soviet Zone who, in name, held the same political opinions. Long after Kurt Schumacher had drawn the dividing line between his party and the Communists, and after Konrad Adenauer had realized that a free social order was only possible in the area controlled by the democratic occupation powers and that he must adjust his policy accordingly, leading FDP politicians still believed that an understanding could be reached with "liberals" in the Soviet Zone, whom the Communists granted nothing but their name.

When they developed into national parties the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) and later the Social Democratic Party (SPD) had to give up much of their ideological tradition. And thus it became more and more difficult for the FDP to make their liberal heritage seem credible in the face of the major parties which were themselves undergoing a liberalising process.

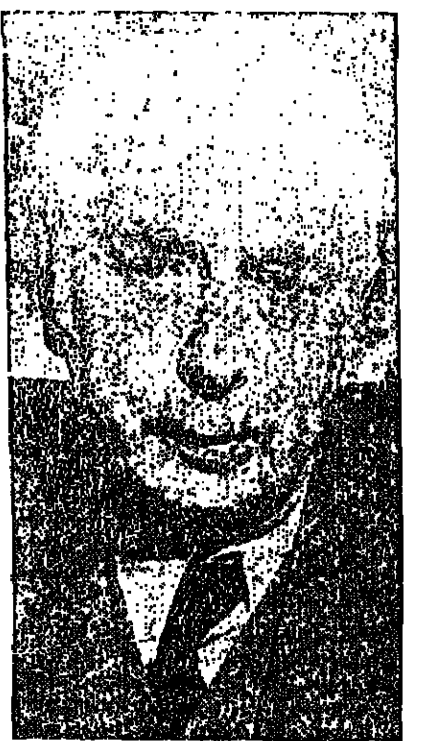
In the coalition with the CDU/CSU, to which Theodor Heuss committed the liberals in 1949, the FDP tried to make its presence felt by putting forward a liberal economic policy, which at that time was still opposed by the SPD. But by so doing the FDP often engaged in close partnership with the right wing of the CDU. The electorate, unable to differentiate the nuances of Adenauer's influence, did not credit the FDP for its constant support of the conception put forward by the Chancellor and his Economic Affairs Minister, Ludwig Erhard.

After the first legislative period the FDP chairman, Heuss's successor Franz Blücher, suffered a severe defeat which made him doubt the political instincts of people in this country. This was probably the beginning of the FDP's later neurosis about the party image.

In 1956 this led to a split in the party. The so-called ministers' wing — Blücher, Schäfer, Neumayer, Preusker amongst a total of 16 members of the parliamentary party — formed a splinter group and then founded their own liberal party which admittedly bore the seeds of destruction right from the start.

At about the same time the liberal "Young Turks" in Düsseldorf toppled Arnold's state government and helped the Social Democratic Steinhoff to succeed Arnold as Prime Minister.

At this point the national party was led by Blücher's successor Thomas Dehler, who after an apparently promising start got more and more tangled up in emotions and resentment. Eventually the party replaced him by Reinhold Maier who succeeded to an extent in welding the divergent wings of the party together.



Theodor Heuss

(Photo: Archiv/dpa)

Although for several years Maier was the leader of a Stuttgart government, which relied considerably on SPD support, he thought that his party's continued existence was only feasible alongside the CDU. Following in Maier's footsteps as regards political orientation, Erich Mende was FDP chairman for eight years. Under his chairmanship, the party achieved one of its greatest electoral successes in 1961.

But the trend towards a two-party system, which had been the downfall of several small parties, caused increasing unrest and nervousness in the FDP. Many FDP politicians thought that their party would suffer the same fate if it did not escape the CDU's embrace and become more independent.

And the Free Democrats have lacked an outstanding politician such as the CDU had in Konrad Adenauer. And so at the beginning of this year the old party management was replaced by an executive of much more left-wing members whom the new chairman Walter Scheel often has difficulty in restraining from political escapades.

So far Scheel has succeeded in holding the party together, despite all internal contradictions. The party is now playing its role as opposition party in the Bundestag much more effectively than many people expected, espicially in view of its numerical weakness and difficult initiative period. However many people doubt whether the FDP in its present form could bear the burden of a coalition government without falling apart.

R. Strobel

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 12 December 1969)

East Berlin is bound to object to NPD in Federal Assembly

When the President of the Bundestag Eugen Gerstenmaier announced his decision that the Federal Assembly should be convened in West Berlin, he gave the impression of a man whose own courage did not really suit him. The vociferous demands by many politicians of all political parties that, in any event, the next Federal President should be elected in West Berlin have created a false impression during recent weeks.

In reality, doubts have been more prevalent in Bonn. Fortunately, the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) party conference in West Berlin passed off without any incidents provoked by the East. Consequently one must at least reckon with the possibility that disturbances will be initiated during the Federal Assembly or after the election has been held.

Thus, it took some courage to plump for West Berlin in spite of everything. But this courage is double-edged. No one can be quite certain whether or not a decision, which seems courageous in Bonn at the moment, will not seem presumptuous in three months time.

Certainly, the Federal Assembly has every right to meet in West Berlin. On three previous occasions it has convened in the city, once during the serious 1959 Berlin crisis. If, under pressure of Eastern threats, the government were to give up the idea of meeting in West Berlin, it could be interpreted as another sign of weakness vis-à-vis the principle that as far as possible West Berlin should be regarded as part of the Federal Republic.

This was why Gerstenmaier supported the West Berlin venue right from the start and has stuck to his opinion. However, it would have been understandable if the President of the Bundestag, who is solely responsible for this decision, had chosen another solution.

In 1969 the Federal Republic will be twenty years old, and for the first time since 1949 it happens that the presidential and Bundestag elections will take place in the same year. The general public in this country would probably have appreciated the situation if, for this reason, the Federal Assembly were to convene in Bonn and not in West Berlin.

On this occasion the possibility of holding the assembly in West Berlin was almost dismissed. In the first place, the Federal Assembly will include delegates of the National Democratic Party (NPD). In the Soviet Zone authorities decide to provoke incidents, they will certainly justify their actions by claiming that they must protect West Berlin from neo-Nazism. The whole world would surely realize that this was only a cheap pretext.

But if the Federal government were obliged to ask the Western powers of assistance to counteract renewed Berlin incidents, then this Eastern argument would put the Allies in a more difficult position than they normally have to face in the interests of West Berlin's defence.

It is very possibly that critics would make their presence felt in the House of Commons in London, in the French Assemblée Nationale and even in Congress in Washington. They would point out to their governments that the fight against neo-Nazism really is more important than holding a Federal Assembly in West Berlin.

The Allied governments — with the possible exception of the retiring Johnson administration in Washington — would definitely have preferred it if for this reason the Federal government and the Bundestag President had renounced the West Berlin meeting.

But if nevertheless incidents should occur, which require Allied intervention, they will not deny their assistance; but it will be given half-heartedly and with silent reproaches. What makes Gerstenmaier's decision even more dubious is the fact that a number of measures could be taken, which the Western powers could do nothing about but which would nonetheless be very unpleasant for West Berlin.

If such measures were to be introduced, then the political parties who at the moment heartily welcome Gerstenmaier's decision, would certainly come forward quickly with reservations. After the confusion of recent weeks they could easily claim that they had not been sufficiently informed of background events.

Under these circumstances, one can only hope that the Eastern authorities will not stir up major incidents. There is a simple means of ensuring this: the 22 NPD delegates entitled to attend the assembly could absent themselves and thus remove any excuse for Ulbricht to cause trouble.

If the NPD were a party which not only calls itself "national" but actually acts in the national interest, then it would be bound to ask its delegates to stay away from West Berlin for the sake of this country as a whole. If this does not happen, then the only hope lies in Moscow. Fortunately, there are signs that after the military occupation of Czechoslovakia, the Soviet government wants to pause and avoid any renewed provocation of the West.

Wolfgang Wagner

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 19 December 1968)

Allied statement on Bonn's accrued rights in West Berlin demanded

West Berlin's chairman of the Free Democratic Party (FDP) and Senator of Justice Hans Günter Hoppe has asked that a draft agreement on the implications of Berlin's status be drawn up. By this means the Western powers, at least, should state what they regard as the accrued rights of Federal Republic policy in West Berlin and to what extent they will guarantee the Federal government's presence in the city.

Hoppe's appeal arises from the fear that West Berlin's rights could be even more restricted by intimidating actions on the part of the Eastern Bloc. He wants to eliminate the main area of attack for the communist campaign against West Berlin. This exposed area originates because of the different attitudes of the Federal Republic and the Western allies to the status of Berlin.

For quite some time and as yet without success a four-man study group has been working towards the same aim in Bonn. Clarification of West Berlin's status, either in the form of a written statement or more generally, could indeed be psychologically comforting. But the determining factor would be whether or not such a statement were respected by the East.

So far there are no indications that this would be so. It is more dangerous to entertain the illusion that the Berlin Question is primarily a legal problem, which has nothing to do with the power confrontation between East and West.

From the Berliners' point of view, the anxious desire for a precise statement is understandable but holds out little promise. The Allies make no secret of the fact that they flatly reject any kind of binding clarification.

(Handelsblatt, 19 December 1968)

WORLD AFFAIRS

China turns spotlight on Europe

NO RESPONSE AS YET TO BONN'S OVERTURES

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Special attention was paid to Albania, Peking's bridgehead in the West. The chief of the Chinese general staff visited Tirana. His speeches made it quite clear that China is ready to provide its ally on the Adriatic with any assistance, including military, in the event of a Soviet threat.

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It may, of course, also be the case that the justification of Soviet intervention as contained in the Brezhnev doctrine has given rise to fears in Peking of the same kind as the suspicions harboured in Bucharest or Belgrade, even if these fears apply only to the remote western province of Sinkiang, China's nuclear research centre.

At all events Premier Chou En-lai has been talking in terms of a grave threat to China's 4,000-mile-long northern frontier.

Whatever motives the Chinese leadership may have it has become abundantly clear in the last few weeks that Moscow is now the arch-enemy in Peking. During his visit to Tirana the chief of the Chinese general staff launched into root-and-branch condemnation of the provocative and ominous appearance of the Soviet navy in the Mediterranean. He had not a single word to say about the presence there of the American Sixth Fleet.

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It would be wrong to indulge in wishful thinking and imagine that an immediate change in the balance of world power is likely to result form the change in emphasis of China's foreign policy. As yet only the priorities of hatred have changed in Peking.

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(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 19 December 1968)

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Even so, continuity between the reform course of a few months ago and present government policies is endangered in two ways.

Premier Oldrich Cernik has increasingly adopted a more realistic attitude, as is shown by his recent advocacy of both prolonging economic reforms and forging stronger economic links with the Soviet Union.

The return to the usual governmental practices of people's democracy has also had the effect that decisions are once more being made primarily by the higher echelons of the Party, and since the process of governing by means of constant consultation with the real rulers of Prague in Moscow is a slow one the dynamism of erstwhile reform has been replaced by a more vegetative style of government.

This is nowhere more evident than in the central committee's treatment of economic problems. The chief decision taken at the December plenum appears to have been the appointment of a commission of specialists to report on the problems involved to a later session of the central committee.

Instead of reform, consolidation has taken over. Fundamental long-term decisions have been postponed and in their place short-term remedies are being sought which relate more to the symptoms than to the causes of the crisis.

The clear vision with which the economic distress of highly indistrialised Czechoslovakia was once identified has for some time been befogged by a formal optimism decreed from above and obscuring the real problems. Percentages are proclaimed that convey the impression of a prosperity that could hardly be bettered.

Incomes have increased by 5.6 per cent in real terms and private consumption has soared ten per cent, it is claimed. But the Party leadership is honest enough to destroy this illusion of prosperity by admitting that the increase in consumption has exceeded by far the prospects of supply.

Caution and courage

The quality of goods produced, the government has announced, is unsatisfactory. Too little is still produced for market requirements and too much manufactured that is not saleable. In other words, due to political circumstances Czechoslovakia has partly exhausted its reserves in this year of reform.

It was realised before 1968 that this cannot last, but although economic reform was decided in principle during the final phase of the Novotny era there is still a great deal of reluctance to allow more freedom of decision. "Socialist calculation taking profit into account" is still only a talking point.

Prior to 21 August, the day on which Soviet troops invaded the country, it was a generally acknowledged fact that the Czechoslovak economy could only be streamlined by means of modernisation with the aim of becoming competitive on Western markets.

It was permissible to state that the one-sided links with the Soviet Union in heavy industry were a main factor in the country's economic misfortunes. Now the opposite must be proclaimed. Cooperation with communist countries, particularly the Soviet Union, is made out to be a guarantee of a economic stability.

It is only with the utmost caution that mention is still made of the need for greater flexibility in economic ties with Eastern allies. The courage and power the Prague leaders still possess to carry through this demand will depend to no small extent on their success in the tricky business of streamlining the economy.

Harry Schleicher

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 17 December 1968)

Bonn aims to improve ties with communist Asia

Consideration is being given by the Foreign Office in Bonn to the problem of improving relations with communist-ruled countries in Asia once the Vietnam war is over.

It is learnt from reliable sources that there is no intention of establishing full diplomatic relations as soon as peace in Vietnam has been assured. The country towards which moves are most likely to be made is Outer Mongolia, which some time ago expressed interest in the forging of diplomatic links.

Contacts of a different kind, it is felt in Bonn, could first be established with North Korea and North Vietnam. The first step in improving relations with Peking is likely to be the setting up of a permanent office of the Confederation of Federal Republic Industry.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 13 December 1968)



The German Tribune

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Published by:
Reinecke Verlag GmbH
23, Schoene Aussicht, Hamburg 22
Tel.: 2-20-12-58 - Telex: /2-14733

Advertising-rates list No. 5

Printed by:
Krögers Buch- und Verlagsdruckerei,
Hamburg-Blankenese

All articles which THE GERMAN TRIBUNE reprints are published in cooperation with the editorial staffs of leading newspapers of the Federal Republic of Germany. They are complete translations of the original text, in no way abridged or editorially redrafted.

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POLITICS

Liberalism since war

SCHEEL HOLDS THE FORT

Liberals in the Federal Republic formed a united organization later than the two major political parties. Officially they joined forces on 12 December 1948 in Heppenheim an der Bergstraße. Theodor Heuss had invited delegates from the Liberal Democratic Parties of the three Western occupation zones to attend a joint conference in Heppenheim.

The time and place were deliberately selected as symbols, because one hundred years previously preliminary discussions on the Frankfurt national assembly were held in Heppenheim. The old liberal heritage was to illuminate the future path of the newly-founded party.

But this ideological foundation proved insubstantial even before the bases of the two major parties became shaky. As an idea Liberalism had long ago burst the bounds of a political party and enriched other parties.

During its political development in the Kaiser period and again during the Weimar Republic the liberal movement was repeatedly splintered. The National Liberals under Wilhelm II were generally more national than liberal.

This contrast was inversely reflected half a century later in the struggle over the "liberal manifesto." It was accentuated most clearly at the Free Democratic Party (FDP) conference at Ems in 1952 when Reinhold Maier's group defended the liberal heritage and Martin Euler's supporters defended the "national" tradition.

To an extent it was national-liberal ideas which led post-war liberals to persist longer than other political parties in attempts to unite with people in the Soviet Zone who, in name, held the same political opinions. Long after Kurt Schumacher had drawn the dividing line between his party and the Communists, and after Konrad Adenauer had realized that a free social order was only possible in the area controlled by the democratic occupation powers and that he must adjust his policy accordingly, leading FDP politicians still believed that an understanding could be reached with "liberals" in the Soviet Zone, whom the Communists granted nothing but their name.

When they developed into national parties the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) and later the Social Democratic Party (SPD) had to give up much of their ideological tradition. And thus it became more and more difficult for the FDP to make their liberal heritage seem credible in the face of the major parties which were themselves undergoing a liberalising process.

In the coalition with the CDU/CSU, to which Theodor Heuss committed the liberals in 1949, the FDP tried to make its presence felt by putting forward a liberal economic policy, which at that time was still opposed by the SPD. But by so doing the FDP often engaged in close partnership with the right wing of the CDU. The electorate, unable to differentiate the nuances of Adenauer's influence, did not credit the FDP for its constant support of the conception put forward by the Chancellor and his Economic Affairs Minister, Ludwig Erhard.

After the first legislative period the FDP chairman, Heuss's successor Franz Blücher, suffered a severe defeat which made him doubt the political instincts of people in this country. This was probably the beginning of the FDP's later neurosis about the party image.

In 1956 this led to a split in the party. The so-called *ministers'* wing — Blücher, Schäfer, Neumayer, Preusker amongst a total of 16 members of the parliamentary party — formed a splinter group and then founded their own liberal party which admittedly bore the seeds of destruction right from the start.

At about the same time the liberal "Young Turks" in Düsseldorf toppled Arnold's state government and helped the Social Democratic Steinhoff to succeed Arnold as Prime Minister.

At this point the national party was led by Blücher's successor Thomas Dehler, who after an apparently promising start got more and more tangled up in emotions and resentment. Eventually the party replaced him by Reinhold Maier who succeeded to an extent in welding the divergent wings of the party together.



Theodor Heuss

(Photo: Archiv/dpa)

Although for several years Maier was the leader of a Stuttgart government, which relied considerably on SPD support, he thought that his party's continued existence was only feasible alongside the CDU. Following in Maier's footsteps as regards political orientation, Erich Mende was FDP chairman for eight years. Under his chairmanship, the party achieved one of its greatest electoral successes in 1961.

But the trend towards a two-party system, which had been the downfall of several small parties, caused increasing unrest and nervousness in the FDP. Many FDP politicians thought that their party would suffer the same fate if it did not escape the CDU's embrace and become more independent.

And the Free Democrats have lacked an outstanding politician such as the CDU had in Konrad Adenauer. And so at the beginning of this year the old party management was replaced by an executive of much more left-wing members whom the new chairman Walter Scheel often has difficulty in restraining from political escapades.

So far Scheel has succeeded in holding the party together, despite all internal contradictions. The party is now playing its role as opposition party in the Bundestag much more effectively than many people expected, espicially in view of its numerical weakness and difficult initiative period. However many people doubt whether the FDP in its present form could bear the burden of a coalition government without falling apart.

R. Strobel

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 12 December 1968)

East Berlin is bound to object to NPD in Federal Assembly

When the President of the Bundestag Eugen Gerstenmaier announced his decision that the Federal Assembly should be convened in West Berlin, he gave the impression of a man whose own courage did not really suit him. The vociferous demands by many politicians of all political parties that, in any event, the next Federal President should be elected in West Berlin have created a false impression during recent weeks.

In reality, doubts have been more prevalent in Bonn. Fortunately, the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) party conference in West Berlin passed off without any incidents provoked by the East. Consequently one must at least reckon with the possibility that disturbances will be initiated during the Federal Assembly or after the election has been held.

Thus, it took some courage to plump for West Berlin in spite of everything. But this courage is double-edged. No one can be quite certain whether or not a decision, which seems courageous in Bonn at the moment, will not seem presumptuous in three months time.

Certainly, the Federal Assembly has every right to meet in West Berlin. On three previous occasions it has convened in the city, once during the serious 1959 Berlin crisis. If, under pressure of Eastern threats, the government were to give up the idea of meeting in West Berlin, it could be interpreted as another sign of weakness vis-à-vis the principle that as far as possible West Berlin should be regarded as part of the Federal Republic.

This was why Gerstenmaier supported the West Berlin venue right from the start and has stuck to his opinion. However, it would have been understandable if the President of the Bundestag, who is solely responsible for this decision, had chosen another solution.

In 1969 the Federal Republic will be twenty years old, and for the first time since 1949 it happens that the presidential and Bundestag elections will take place in the same year. The general public in this country would probably have appreciated the situation if, for this reason, the Federal Assembly were to convene in Bonn and not in West Berlin.

On this occasion the possibility of holding the assembly in West Berlin was almost dismissed. In the first place, the Federal Assembly will include delegates of the National Democratic Party (NPD). In the Soviet Zone authorities decide to provoke incidents, they will certainly justify their actions by claiming that they must protect West Berlin from neo-Nazism. The whole world would surely realize that this was only a cheap pretext.

But if the Federal government were obliged to ask the Western powers of assistance to counteract renewed Berlin incidents, then this Eastern argument would put the Allies in a more difficult position than they normally have to face in the interests of West Berlin's defence.

It is very possibly that critics would make their presence felt in the House of Commons in London, in the French Assemblée Nationale and even in Congress in Washington. They would point out to their governments that the fight against neo-Nazism really is more important than holding a Federal Assembly in West Berlin.

The Allied governments — with the possible exception of the retiring Johnson administration in Washington — would definitely have preferred it if for this reason the Federal government and the Bundestag President had renounced the West Berlin meeting.

But if nevertheless incidents should occur, which require Allied intervention, they will not deny their assistance; but it will be given half-heartedly and with silent reproaches. What makes Gerstenmaier's decision even more dubious is the fact that a number of measures could be taken, which the Western powers could do nothing about but which would nonetheless be very unpleasant for West Berlin.

If such measures were to be introduced, then the political parties who at the moment heartily welcome Gerstenmaier's decision, would certainly come forward quickly with reservations. After the confusion of recent weeks they could easily claim that they had not been sufficiently informed of background events.

Under these circumstances, one can only hope that the Eastern authorities will not stir up major incidents. There is a simple means of ensuring this: the 22 NPD delegates entitled to attend the assembly could absent themselves and thus remove any excuse for Ulbricht to cause trouble.

If the NPD were a party which not only calls itself "national" but actually acts in the national interest, then it would be bound to ask its delegates to stay away from West Berlin for the sake of this country as a whole. If this does not happen, then the only hope lies in Moscow. Fortunately, there are signs that after the military occupation of Czechoslovakia, the Soviet government wants to pause and avoid any renewed provocation of the West.

Wolfgang Wagner

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 19 December 1968)

Allied statement on Bonn's accrued rights in West Berlin demanded

West Berlin's chairman of the Free Democratic Party (FDP) and Senator of Justice Hans Günter Hoppe has asked that a draft agreement on the implications of Berlin's status be drawn up. By this means the Western powers, at least, should state what they regard as the accrued rights of Federal Republic policy in West Berlin and to what extent they will guarantee the Federal government's presence in the city.

Hoppe's appeal arises from the fear that West Berlin's rights could be even more restricted by intimidating actions on the part of the Eastern Bloc. He wants to eliminate the main area of attack for the communist campaign against West Berlin. This exposed area originates because of the different attitudes of the Federal Republic and the Western allies to the status of Berlin.

For quite some time and as yet without success a four-man study group has been working towards the same aim in Bonn. Clarification of West Berlin's status, either in the form of a written statement or more generally, could indeed be psychologically comforting. But the determining factor would be whether or not such a statement were respected by the East.

So far there are no indications that this would be so. It is more dangerous to entertain the illusion that the Berlin Question is primarily a legal problem, which has nothing to do with the power confrontation between East and West.

From the Berliners' point of view, the anxious desire for a precise statement is understandable but holds out little promise. The Allies make no secret of the fact that they flatly reject any kind of binding clarification.

(Handelsblatt, 19 December 1968)

RELIGION

Abbot disagrees with bishops, quits Benedictine order

DIE WELT
UNABHÄNGIGE TAGESZEITUNG FÜR DEUTSCHLAND

In North Rhine-Westphalia a monk pursued a difficult path: the Benedictine Abbot Alkuin Heising protested against the church authorities to whom he is subject. The young scholar thinks that the reforms proposed by the Vatican Council are threatened by an "inquisitorial counter-revolution" even before the faithful have become aware of their import.

He complains about the "authoritarian style" of the Church and intensely dislikes the "radical suppression of religious spontaneity as regards church services." He soon joined the side of the reformers because—as he says—he is convinced that "in many respects traditional religious teaching needs to be expressed in modern terms." The reason for this is 'that this is the only way in which Christ's message can be communicated to contemporary people."

But in the end instead of joining battle with the clergy, he chose capitulation. At the beginning of December he left the Church. 41-year-old Abbot Heising asked to be relieved of his office as head of the Michaelsberger Cloister near Siegburg. He request was granted. An application to be laicised is now in Rome.

The events leading up to this point would have remained largely unknown because Heising kept quiet. He only made his views public when he felt he had been provoked by the Bishop of Cologne. Cologne recommended that the parish of Bonn-Tannenbusch should cancel the invitation to the former Abbot to give a talk on Christ's childhood.

In a circular the bishopric of Cologne 'stressed to clergy that Heising was trying to bring the Pope and the Church before "his personal court" in public. Then the retired Abbot broke his silence. On 12 December he let the public know his position.

In the Abbot's opinion, it all began when he supported the theses of modern theology put forward by Professor Hubertus Halbfas, in an open letter last year. After refusing to disavow his theses the professor had been reprimanded by the Bishops' conference. As a result Cardinal Josef Frings gave Heising a choice: retraction or having the matter referred to Rome.

Instead of a retraction, a modification was issued; it revealed that the Abbot of Michaelsberg stuck to his position. In addition he wrote to the Bishop's Conference stating how urgent he felt it was to reform traditional structures, so as to avoid a mighty revolution of the Church and to prevent a massive desertion of the faithful. "Your suggestions will be seriously considered," replied Cardinal Julius Döpfner.

But there was no further reaction. Meanwhile Heising became increasingly convinced that the administration was trying to stifle ecclesiastic life more and more through "petty legal regulations." For example, he thought it was regrettable that hand communion (giving the host into the believer's hands) should have been forbidden again.

He was annoyed that when young people of both faiths met in Catholic churches "unpleasant secret investigations" were conducted and that priests in charge of youth groups had been reprimanded for their tolerance of jazz because it is "unseemly" for jazz to be played in churches, as the administration wrote.

The Abbot said that he found "the clergy's education policy" just as incomprehensible as the Catholic Church's "obstinate attitude" to the question of mixed marriages. Lastly, he was dismayed at the "severe censure" of Catholic protests against Pope Paul VI's encyclical Humanae vitae.

The defiant Abbot came to the conclusion that "the pastor was up against limits and prohibitions. He is reprimanded if he tries to initiate contemporary forms of parish work." And: "The relationship of the Church to society is characterised by out-of-date authoritarian thinking."

He denied the authorities the obedience which they expect of him. He has retired. In future Heising who knows Arabia and studied in Jerusalem wants to work on development aid projects. Thanks to numerous letters from priests and laymen, Alkuin Heising is more than ever convinced of the truth of his views: "One day the authoritarian style, which is unworthy of man's intelligence, will be superceded." For the time being, having taken this serious step, Heising is going away.

(DIE WELT, 13 December 1968)


Helmut Thielicke

(Photo: dpa)

Revivalist packs St Michael's Hamburg

When Helmut Thielicke occupies the pulpit, the large church of St Michael in Hamburg is full to capacity with people who are prepared to listen to a sermon lasting a full hour. Historians say that this has not happened since the eighteenth century.

But Thielicke has always attracted large congregations ever since he came to Hamburg fourteen years ago as the founder of the Theological Faculty and Vice-chancellor of the University. This continuous phenomenon places him apart from touring sermon virtuosos who are momentarily shattering but are forgotten again after four weeks or so. Thielicke has a regular sermon congregation.

Thielicke's achievements as a preacher have deliberately been mentioned first: they illustrate most clearly the combination of spontaneous inspiration and detailed preparation. His major work *Ethics*, in which he is strictly methodical and by citing examples makes reality comprehensible, demonstrates that Thielicke is a systematist.

Nonetheless, in his sermons Thielicke's personality is clearly revealed. He reminds one of the great revivalists of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. His language is also contemporary and immediate. The revivalists were certainly not prudish in their choice of words and means when it came to expressing emphatically what they regarded as God's and Man's cause.

Like them, Thielicke does not preach the gospel with a discount and reminds theologians that they must deal with tangible values. When it comes to describing the essence of this man, the phrase "genial naiveté" comes most readily to mind. It is only through the decay of language that the word "naive" has come to denote inadequate understanding; Schiller could think of no better way of describing, for example, Goethe's being and writings.

Such a person does not immediately consider the pitiful and the inadequate, but recognises in everything God's original purpose, however disfigured the object under review may be.

This does not mean that Thielicke overlooks weaknesses or mistakes; he simply gives them their proper place in the Creation.

Consequently, he possesses a quality which many dedicated men lack, namely humour and the ability to laugh at himself. The best anecdotes about Thielicke are told by Thielicke himself.

With obvious relish he tells the story of the speech he gave in Stuttgart after the war, in which he challenged the victorious powers not to judge the Germans too self-righteously. "On that occasion I was a little pompous and said, 'You others were not tempted, but we Germans have looked the devil in the eye.' Someone told this story to Karl Barth and he nodded his head and commented: 'So, Thielicke has looked the devil in the eye; the devil must have been exceedingly frightened.'"

This broad-minded humanist—it is not coincidental that much of his work concerns Lessing—and determined campaigner can also make mistakes in his estimation of people and situations. This is the price which genial naiveté has to pay in this world. Thus, for example, he accepted the contention that the present generation has become immune to mass hysteria because of the experiences of the Nazi era.

However, a more important point in creating a picture of this internationally respected man is that he is capable of establishing an utterly personal and solicitous friendship, and spares neither time nor money if he thinks he can help someone.

Pictures of Thielicke as a young man show a figure threatened by a fatal illness. But he is now sixty and has a multitude of achievements to his credit.

Gerhard Günther
(DEUTSCHES ALLGEMEINES SONNTAGSBLATT, 8 December 1968)

Barbed wire and red tape cannot divide Church in East and West

On 30 November the three Lutheran state churches in the Soviet Zone, in Saxony, Thuringia and Mecklenburg, combined to form the "United Protestant-Lutheran Church in the German Democratic Republic." The brief official announcement of this move does not reveal how it will alter the structure of the United Protestant-Lutheran Church in Germany, to which the three churches belonged up to now.

To date the Lutheran office in Hanover has declined to express its views on the decisions reached by the three Soviet Zone member churches. However, it would probably not be wrong to assume that this decision is at least partially the result of a statement by Thuringian Bishop Moritz Mitzenheim, who during the discussions on the constitution in the spring this year said, "The borders of the German Democratic Republic are also the borders of ecclesiastical organisations."

Whatever may be read into this statement, whether it be triumph or resignation, it nonetheless expresses the reality of the situation. For years all-German church institutions have been facing a crisis. To an increasing extent the state authorities in the Soviet Zone have been hampering their activities. For a long time joint synods have no longer been possible, and the activities of joint executive bodies have become fragmentary.

As the state does not recognise the existence of all-German bodies of the Protestant Church, representatives are not in a position to hold negotiations with official state departments. Since the new Soviet Zone constitution came into force this spring — which sets extremely narrow limits on church activities — the fear that all-German ecclesiastical institutions could be considered anti-constitutional must also be taken into account.

Under these circumstances, all the regional Protestant churches in the Soviet Zone have become inclined to form their own union, which takes into consideration the political conditions in the other part of this country and at the same time can work more effectively than the exceedingly inhibited all-German bodies.

A structural commission has worked out proposals for "union of the Protestant churches in the Soviet Zone." Its work has largely been completed; the Church leaders were able to express their views on the proposals and to make their own suggestions. In the spring of 1969 the synods of the eight state churches in the Soviet Zone will have the opportunity to reach a final decision on this union.

It was therefore surprising that at this point in time the three Lutheran state churches should have reached these speculative decisions. Admittedly a few weeks ago the Protestant Church of Union, to which the five non-Lutheran state churches in the Soviet Zone belong, agreed upon a new organisation which — similar to the previous organisation of the United Protestant-Lutheran Church in Germany — allows regional bodies in the East and West more independence than hitherto.

But these decisions did not overstep the limits of the previous joint, basic organisation and were jointly agreed by representatives of the EKU Council. It was assumed that when founding the union of Protestant churches in the Soviet Zone, the situation with regard to confessional unions would be re-thought.

The hasty decision of the three Lutheran churches has not made the clerical situation any easier. Of course, the organisational framework of the churches and their unions should not be overestimated. Even if the Church also has to resort to organisational means, it is nevertheless something more than a mere organisation.

The community of Christians in both parts of this country cannot be disrupted by political limits nor can it be invalidated through organisational modifications. And this is not the intention of the merger of the Lutheran churches in the Soviet Zone. In future they will doubtless continue to keep in close contact with their sister churches in the Federal Republic.

Sepp Schelz
(DEUTSCHES ALLGEMEINES SONNTAGSBLATT, 15 December 1968)



LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Social Democrats for five-million Ruhr super-city



Politicians in North Rhine-Westphalia are still feeling the shock in their bones. Proposals to reorganize the local government administrations have caused such a furore that no one quite knows how the thing will end.

The otherwise so placidly co-operative Christian, Social and Free Democrats were suddenly at each other's throats. The proposed schemes have caused local communities to become entrenched in a defence of their interests.

Two years before the next elections rival groups are already furiously debating the issue. Reports follow each other in quick succession. Town councils and local authorities are busy preparing proposals and counter-proposals to ward off forced solutions that would impair their interests.

The Düsseldorf state legislature is facing a whole parcel of bills. Willi Weyer, the Free Democratic Minister of the Interior who has been convalescing for some time near Iserlohn, returned with a vengeance to the subject of municipal planning, which he had all but ignored in recent months. He has special plans for the region around Iserlohn from which his home town, Hagen, hopes to profit.

One plan which seemed to have been forgotten and which Willi Weyer had until now regarded with suspicion has unexpectedly found supporters. The Greater Ruhr is again in the news.

At a recent extraordinary meeting of Social Democrats in Bochum representatives of local authorities in Bochum, Herne, Wanne-Eickel, Wattenscheid and Witten supported proposals for a super-city extending from Dortmund to Duisburg. They were favourably impressed by the Rietdorf Report proposing a partition of the state into three administrative districts, Rhineland, Rhine-Ruhr (roughly the [illegible]) and Westphalia. The [illegible] was published last spring by Rietdorf, a state secretary in Düsseldorf. He was advised by a committee of ten experts.

The proposals outlined in the Rietdorf Report are more sweeping than similar schemes suggested for Lower Saxony, Hesse and the Rhineland-Palatinate. The six administrative regions Aachen, Cologne, Düsseldorf, Münster, Arnsberg and Detmold, which come under Rhenish and Westphalian government, should be dissolved, according to the Rietdorf Report, and replaced by three new regions, Rhineland, Rhine-Ruhr and Westphalia with HQ in Cologne, Essen and Münster. Three new regional organizations would be created.

These would take on tasks that have hitherto been carried out by Westphalia-Lippe, Rhineland and Ruhr local authority groupings. These tasks include welfare and youth affairs.

For the Ruhr this would mean the realisation of the long-awaited plan for a Dortmund-Duisburg complex. Regions that already represent a physical unit would be given the required administrative framework for effective government.

The Ruhr is no longer a melting pot in which people from all parts of the country, and from all countries, can live in isolation, without sharing a communal spirit. Working conditions in the foundries and mines have formed the people just as the people have formed their city. A type of person has grown up between Duisburg and Dortmund for whom the Ruhr has a common language. It is a language which has found wide acceptance in literature (Max von der Grün) and in the home-brewed style of narrative of, say, Jürgen von Manger, one of this country's most popular raconteurs.

"These people with the fat fingers", as Professor Brepohl, the sociologist, calls them, have the same hobbies and worries. Every week-end, from spring to autumn, groups of them wait for the return of their "little racehorses", the carrier pigeons that had been sent off to compete in prizewinning races.

Every month the miners have the same hopes that their pit will not be closed. In all Ruhr families the husband hands over the money bags to the wife, and the degree of comfort presented to the neighbours is a mark of their thrift.

Similarly, all towns in the Ruhr are plagued by the same problems. Duisburg and Dortmund councillors are in the same boat with their financial difficulties. Problems upon problems, and all in the same bag.

The city centres which spread too rapidly during the industrial boom must be replanned. Traffic problems are common to all, there is a general need for green belt areas, more jobs must be provided.

The prerequisites for better traffic conditions in Greater Ruhr have now been created by the government. In Düsseldorf the go-ahead has been given for a suburban railway, the Provincial Assembly has pledged 1,600 million Marks for the project.

Local authorities in the Ruhr need only pay ten per cent of the cost of the new facilities. The Ruhr railway will be linked at strategic points on the North-South route with the S-Bahn of the Bundesbahn, now under construction.

Future generations in the Ruhr will have an excellent transport system. Traffic connections with industry, theatres and other social centres will be vastly improved.

At least in this sector the future of the Ruhr super-city seems bright. The centralisation which this complex will necessitate and which many observers fear will thus be attenuated to manageable proportions.

True, Ruhr cities, such as they now are, will be degraded to the status of urban districts, but a high degree of municipal independence will be maintained in compliance with the wishes of the people. Local councils, administrative centres and mayors are not to be so divorced from the community as to be virtually inaccessible.

Greater Ruhr, with five million inhabitants, would be this country's largest city which at one stroke would make the Ruhr a more attractive area.

Günter Müller
(CHRIST UND WELT, 20 December 1968)

Bochum's industrial landscape is characteristic of the Ruhr

(Photo: Stadt Bochum, Presseamt)

Rhineland-Palatinate fights to preserve statehood

MAINZ STREAMLINES LOCAL AUTHORITY STRUCTURE

Reform has become a slogan which is tossed about indiscriminately by many. When reforms are to be actually introduced however, the difficulties begin, the gap between theory and practice becomes apparent. People rise up to defend their interests, preventing solutions that would benefit the community at large.

Typical of such deadlocks are the proposed financial reforms to give the Fed[illegible] cal authorities the means to carry out urgent projects efficiently. The large rich Federal states especially are stumbling blocks since they are worried about losing their independence. The spirit in which real reforms can be effected is being demonstrated at present not by a large state but by the small Rhineland-Palatinate, an administrative region created by the French in 1946.

The Mainz legislature has now passed its fourth Bill on administrative reform extending the powers of local authorities and simplifying the business of government in greater administrative units.

About 250 such units have been reduced to 110, 20 villages are to be merged with five larger towns. The Provincial Assembly will decide early next year what to do with 47 other communities, many of them numbering only five or six inhabitants.

All will not go smoothly of course, protests are expected from the inhabitants of many of the communities affected by the reforms. Many communities fear losing prerogatives they have enjoyed for years.

Many people will naturally be annoyed to see the names of where they live disappearing from the map. Worse still, they may not want to be bunched together, if only in the administrative sense, with neighbouring communities for whom they feel antipathies.

The three parties represented in the Mainz legislature, however, ignored the angry protests and went ahead with their programme of reform. They rightly argued that the good of the community comes before private interests. Palatinate politicians are confident that the new administrative machine will function more efficiently and result in greater productivity in these regions. The social life of these communities may also be stimulated by the new laws.

With the passage of the fourth bill on administrative reform the Rhineland-Palatinate has consistently pursued the policy that was introduced in 1966, when the first laws were passed to overhaul the machinery of government. These laws came into effect on 1 January, abolishing 32 district courts of law.

Territorial reforms were begun in July of this year. Five administrative districts were merged into three. Legislation passed last autumn reduced the number of rural districts (Landkreis) from 39 to 28.



Since the boundaries of these districts were relocated at the same time, it was possible to lump 22 districts together to form nine. This rearrangement also caused furious protests, especially among motorists who were obliged to obtain new registration numbers.

The latest batch of laws on rural and municipal reforms are to come into effect on 7 June 1969, the day before the local elections are held. Legislation reducing the number of administrative districts came into force on 1 October.

The reform measures required much courage and tenacity by the men in Mainz. The pressures on them from their home communities were naturally very great, and politicians want to be re-elected.

The effects of the broad-based reform programme that is destined to change the political landscape of the Rhine and Mosello will continue, at least until 1972, to be the subject of heated arguments at local level. The new administrative system envisaged by the July laws has the ultimate aim of reducing the state's 3,000 administrative districts within four years to about 200 administrative "associations," each having at least 7,500 inhabitants.

Politicians in the Rhineland-Palatinate have repeatedly made clear in their debates on administrative and territorial reform that they intend their recommendations to be ultimately incorporated in similar reforms at Federal level. This was again stressed recently in the Mainz assembly by the Prime Minister of the Rhineland-Palatinate, Peter Altmeier.

The Prime Minister said that the reorganisation of Federal states, essential within a broad context for the same reasons that prevailed in the Palatinate, cannot be realised with patent solutions. Representatives of *all principal administrative* districts in the country must meet to discuss what course should be taken.

In these discussions the Rhineland-Palatinate, which many politicians suggest should be dissolved entirely and split up among other Federal states, will defend itself on firmer ground. The reforms carried out and the resolutions now being passed by the legislature in Mainz are essentially inspired by feelings of self-preservation. This does not, however, detract from the value and purpose of the reform programme in its present form.

This small Federal state, numbering 3.6 million inhabitants, has set an impressive example for other states which are inclined to talk much and act little. It is to be hoped that these will now take the good example to heart.

Hans Jörg Sottorf
(STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG, 19 December 1968)

CINEMA

Light and undemanding films given subsidies

Once again the Federal government's film policy has proved dubious and misguided. People have got used to accepting this as a fact, but on this recent occasion it was demonstrated in a particularly crass manner.

To encourage and raise the standard of Federal Republic films, the Film Promotion Act was rushed through its various stages some six months ago, the Film Promotion Institute was founded, and those responsible thought they had done their bit.

Anyone who knows anything about the film industry admittedly rejected the act as inadequate and spurious; however, at the time the bureaucrats dismissed all warnings and this is all the more incomprehensible since the prognoses have been confirmed in the meantime.

The Film Promotion Institute (FFA) has just published the first list of films which have been awarded the basic subsidy of 150,000 Marks. It is hard to believe one's eyes: the list includes such titles as *Die Nibelungen, Das älteste Gewerbe der Welt, Die Rache des Dr Fu Man Chu, Heisses Pflaster Köln, Das Rasthaus der grausamen Puppen, Wenn es Nacht wird auf der Reeperbahn* and so on.

The producers of these undemanding, light films are rubbing their hands in triumph and looking forward to the next subsidy. Is this what Bonn meant by film promotion?

However, another announcement has shattered the foundations of this country's film policy still further. At a recent FFA press conference in Bonn the chairman of the Film and Television Commission, Social Democratic member of the Bundestag Joachim Raffert, explained that the number of Federal Republic films screened on television was to be stepped up even more.

In this connection it was also stated that the time which has to elapse before subsidies are paid out will be shortened; this will indeed improve FFA's budget but otherwise is nothing more than another affront to the film industry.

As an observer, it is impossible to escape the impression that the Film and Television Commission has utterly misunderstood its task. Instead of encouraging fruitful cooperation between film and television in favour of the ailing Federal Republic film, it is obviously merely pursuing a pro-television policy.

In short, future television viewers will have the opportunity of watching 380 (as against 350) feature films per year and more of these than hitherto will be Federal Republic productions.

These incomprehensible measures, which certainly do not favour films, have met with immediate strong protest on the part of the film industry. Dr Engelbrecht, chairman of the Association of Federal Republic Cinemas (HDF), immediately resigned his post as deputy chairman of the Film and Television Commission, and the individual institutes were overwhelmed with protest letters, almost all of which could be summed up in the following sentence: "The present situation gives rise to serious concern as to the survival of our branch of the film industry." Some expressed their dissatisfaction more forcibly and threatened to lodge a constitutional complaint.

According to another statement, which only serves to emphasize the seriousness of the situation, 460 cinemas in the Federal Republic have closed this year, and another five hundred closures are expected next year. Having misunderstood its function, FFA must be held considerably responsible for this development.

And what is television's attitude to all this? A leading representative of the 1st Federal Republic TV Channel has said quite openly, as was reported in the film magazine *Film-Echo/Film-Woche*, that television cannot be expected to broadcast inferior programmes for the benfit of the film industry.



A scene from Schamoni's "Quartett im Bett"

(Photo: Schamoni/Constantin/Teampress)

In one respect the television spokesman is undoubtedly right: television programmes would indeed be inadequate if they did not include feature films. And no one is trying to persuade the TV companies to stop screening cinema films altogether. They have earned credit particularly by showing premières of avant garde films.

And yet a programme such as that for the 49th week of last year can only add fuel to the present explosive situation. During this week both channels screened a total of six feature films of which three — *Rosen für den Staatsanwalt* (2nd Channel) *Red River* (1st Channel) and *Moulin Rouge* (1st Channel) — are cinema successes, which are still box-office draws.

For quite some time these problems have no longer existed in the USA, the Netherlands and Sweden. There, film and television work hand in hand in an atmosphere of mutual cooperation. If, on the other hand, this country is incapable of at last pursuing a reasonable film policy, appointing the right people to the appropriate bodies and putting an end to unfair competition, then in the foreseeable future the miserable position of the film industry will become a catastrophe.

(RHEIN-NECKAR-ZEITUNG, 6 December 1968)

Music starts it all happening

"Everything goes better with music" says a German operetta, humorously. This slogan may fit many situations and many temperaments—but it certainly does not suit a temperament such as Ulrich Schamoni's. This 29-year-old director, who up to now has not been very fond of music in films, has based his latest work *Quartett im Bett* entirely on songs.

Ulrich Schamoni has found a completely new use for music in films. The slogan is no longer, "Everything goes better with music," but, "This music starts everything happening."

The music in question was composed by a young man who some years ago began to teach himself to play the guitar and earned a piteous living playing in West Berlin pubs. The composer is Ingo Insterburg.

He soon found three friends who were also amateurs and they joined forces. At first the quartet sang folk songs which were all the rage at the time. But these lively young men soon realised that folk would lead them to a dead end. The group which was called Insterburg & Co broke up and evolved a completely new way of making music, a mixture of cabaret quips and deliberately romantic *chansons*.

Everyday life in the slums of the Kreuzberg area of West Berlin where, in the dilapidated buildings and pubs, poor simple people formed a kind of big happy family with painters, writers, students and major and minor genii, where everyone knows and respects everyone else—a situation which is regarded as an idyll of a past era in today's large cities—this provides the Insterburg group not only with their musical but also with their textual inspiration.

These four Kreuzberg musicians are the centre of interest of the film *Quartett im Bett*, they and their songs, which for these boys do not merely represent a job but a fundamental expression of life. Their songs are simply about what moves them and what they say in ordinary conversation, though admittedly in a less poetic fashion.

With sharp insight, Ulrich Schamoni has recognised that these young men are typical representatives of the discontented younger generation, as found in West Berlin as a whole and particularly in Kreuzberg. He has recorded the reality of West Berlin and has set the music to mostly documentary camera work.

And the apparently impossible is achieved: the songs, many of which have the smoochy melodies of hit records, do not have a contrapuntal effect on the photography but utterly and completely complement the pictures.

(NEUE RUHR ZEITUNG, 7 December 1968)

Film material must be ripe for treatment

TALKING TO PRODUCER ARTHUR BRAUNER

This country's greatest film producer Arthur "Atze" Brauner, aged 50, only once thought in terms of making an artistic film. That was more than twenty years ago. He made a film called *Morituri*, the story of a group of concentration camp escapees who are driven to and fro between the Red Army and the German forces. The film gained Brauner good notices, an award at the Venice Film Festival—and nine years in debt.

Since then this clever film salesman has devoted himself more to popular films than to subjects which interest him personally. His latest success recipe is called *Grossfilm in Co-Produktion*. *Der Tyrann* is already on the production line and *Kampf um Rom*, "the most expensive German film during the past fifty years," will be started soon. What does the most successful film producer in this country think of his medium?

Success has given him self-confidence and made him detached. Arthur Brauner brings his film aesthetic down to one common denominator: "A box-office failure is senseless. What does the producer gain from good notices? Critics say that he has achieved a few good sequences but that is about all. As a producer, one must be able to judge these things correctly oneself."

How does one make a successful film?

Brauner: The producer must know what subject is ripe for treatment. A synthesis of smooch and sex is a healthy recipe for producers. But it does not guarantee success. The mentality of the audience changes. I think I am on to a good thing with adventure films at the moment, because none have been made for quite a time. By making adventure films I am filling a gap.

Do you know your audience?

Brauner: Audiences don't know what they want. But I try to make films for charwomen and professors. *Kampf um Rom* could be suited to both kinds of audience.

Where do you get your film material from?

Brauner: Usually I consider plays, novels and short stories which have already been published. Alternatively, I commission scenarios.

And what do you look for in a story?

Brauner: Above all I look for good characters, the way in which they are developed and appropriate situations. In this country authors describe situations and let the characters act accordingly. This is not so everywhere else in the world. It is not situations but the characters who create a situation, who are important. If we had authors like the Italians or the French do, we would get on better. We have some good actors, but authors . . .

Who has the last word about a proposed film?

Brauner: In almost all countries the producer reaches the final decision because the director is unable to distance himself from his material.

Can the producer reach an objective decision?

Brauner: Of course. He wants the film to be a success.

Do you influence the director's work?

Brauner: I discuss every passage of dialogue, every scene, every character with the director. I look at the rushes every day. And when it comes to editing, we confer again so as to reach a joint decision.

Have you ever tried working with young directors?

Brauner: It is difficult for an established producer in this country to find a working relationship with a young director. The press praises them highly and they no longer know what they are doing. They thought they knew everything and have flopped. Their basic mistake was thinking that they ought not to cooperate with established producers. But one must listen to one's teachers.

Have you got a favourite film?

Brauner: The most beautiful and the most human film which I have ever seen in my life was *When the Cranes Fly*. I have had it screened in my home seven times.

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 5 December 1968)



THINGS SEEN

Paolozzi and Niki de St Phalle sculptures in Düsseldorf exhibition

Italy's greatest living sculptor lives in England. This is a joke of course because Eduardo Paolozzi is an Englishman, the son of immigrant Italian parents.

Paolozzi is one of those rare artists who reappear every few years with an entirely new body of work without being accused of emulating current trends, as can be said of so many others whose style is in a state of flux. Needless to say, Paolozzi is deeply involved in the formal and thematic problems of the present, but he avoids being trapped by any one dogma, just as he avoids dogmatism in his own art.

Paolozzi's sculptures—now that he has had his adventures in scrap and art informel—are among the most imaginative, suggestive and peculiarly plastic compositions of this decade. This begins with his quaint altars and shrines which he usually welds and moulds in aluminium.

These have a patently hierarchical, figuratively orientated, structure. They are often crowned with finds from the mechanical world. These details, however, are invariably integrated with great skill into the general scheme of the work.

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MÜNCHNER NEUESTE NACHRICHTEN

Paolozzi's sculptors release various associations—towers, chess, cupboards, tabernacles, divinity, power stations, robots, wardens, Big Brother, philosophy. The titles are likewise associative: *Consul; The last of the Idols; Tower for Mondrian; The World divided in Facts; Wittgenstein at Cassino I; Medea.*

The surfaces of the sculptors are elevated or turned in upon themselves with geometric reliefs (grooves, rectangles) or by means of electric components, spokes and rays. This gives them an almost baroque, narrative, airy appearance.

Paolozzi refines this amusing process of using ornamental effects to extricate monumental forms from the realms of unapproachability with rich, colourful painting that almost has a folk art flavour to it. This accentuates the appeal of the rationally mounted upper surfaces.

This technique seems to have failed in two works, *Tokio* and *Hamlet*, which Paolozzi painted without any apparent regard for the formal lines. Here an illogical ornament—illogical because the composition of the work did not require it—is superimposed on objects in space until these are almost obliterated. This then looks like colourful camouflage.

In 1964 and 1965 Paolozzi's art began to lose its massive qualities, that at times seemed almost threatening. The sculptures are raised from the ground by snake-like coils of pipes. Wheels are added, the block-like effect is dissolved in figurative, surrealist ensembles that recall Max Ernst.

Then came the phase of autonomous pipes which, painted or polished, seemed to take possession of space in a complex and frighteningly greedy manner. The dimensions are enormous, and the progression of joinings, overlappings, crosscuts, recoils and colour stripes have a disarming self-confidence. Looking at them, the works of a Titan, it would seem, continually stalking new ideas, one finds oneself entering a euphoric state in which art here takes possession of the viewer, art that seems to exist in exact rhythm with the breath of this age.

Paolozzi's sallies into Minimum Art are most forceful evidence that he again and again breaks out of the standards he has set himself. He is insatiable. He enriches the simplest geometric basic forms with Paolozzi details. He arranges rhomboid pipes in a triangle, exaggerates the welding seams with a prominent rib and bends back the base of the work to make it stand but also to give even this simplest of details a more graceful flowing line.

Paolozzi's latest creative phase, in which he has lost none of his flexibility and sensitivity, is marked by chromium-plated steel sculptures which blend elegance, splendour, gentleness, smooth curves and waves of reflections with the cool fascination of material worked to a point of perfection. The exhibition of Paolozzi's works in the Düsseldorf Kunsthalle is one of the finest displays of the works of any one artist that have been seen in recent years in this country. It will be open until 1st January.

In sharp contrast to the Paolozzi exhibition is another display on the top floor of the Kunsthalle, completed last year, where the Kunstverein has its rooms. The amusing Niki de St Phalle here presents her fat "Nanas." This woman with the peculiar name has a mania which takes the form of everything being bigger than with the others, everything more colourful and garish.

This is a fair of the artistic demi-monde, amusing and terrible. A narrator of fairy tales from the realm of charlatans, Disneyland in an orgy of polyester.

Sex and eroticism of the short-armed, stumpy legged primeval mother. Picture books with crazy birds and silly geese. A foaming circus full to the top with publicity, extending even to the designers in the Deutsches Staatstheater.

Dreams of Ego with paillettes, muffs, old clothes and death cult. Enormous women beside childishness, naive lasciviousness, vulgarity and belated puberty. The clever arts and crafts of a restless, intriguing woman.

Indeed, a big change from Paolozzi. He discovers a third fascinating world between his own identity and his public, she tirelessly projects her innerworld, inflating it to a bizarre splurge of banality. This exhibition is open until 1st January.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 7 December 1968)

Cultural events at 1972 Olympics

Avant garde trends will be represented in the Munich 1972 cultural programme. The chairman of the Olympic cultural affairs committee, Herbert Hohenemser, announced last week in West Berlin that among other experimental projects Total Theatre with electronic effects will be included in the programme.

Herr Hohenemser said that a competition is being arranged in which twelve composers from this country will be invited to present their Olympic theme-tunes or fanfares. West Berlin's cultural contribution will be guest performances of the Philharmonie and the Philharmonic choir.

Cultural contacts are also being arranged with the East Berlin government. It is hoped to engage the Dresden Staatskapelle.

(DIE WELT, 9 December 1968)

Walther Kiaulehn — man of humour

Walther Kiaulehn, author and theatre critic, died suddenly in his flat in Munich, aged 68.

Kiaulehn's friends and colleagues saw him in such good form of late that at first few of them believed the news. Indeed, few had ever realised or believed that this energetic writer and journalist was nearing seventy.

Walther Kiaulehn started out in life as an electrician, but was soon making a name for himself with the pen. He was born in Berlin, and by 1924 he was on the staff of the *Berliner Tageblatt*, one of the most influential newspapers in the capital at that time. In 1930, he joined the staff of the *BZ am Mittag*, which had the widest circulation in Berlin, and in which his concise pungent style had greater freedom to develop.

However deeply Walther Kiaulehn was embroiled in the whirl of daily events, he never ceased in his search for a broader vision, reviewing past achivements and failures and looking to the future. From his extensive knowledge he was ever anxious to give a true picture of events.

Kiaulehn showed himself from another side in 1932 with his book *Lehnaus Trostfibel und Gelächterbuch* (he also wrote under this pseudonym). Two years later *Die eisernen Engel* appeared, and unconventional though well-informed history of technology in the service of mankind.

With his collection of essays, *Lesebuch für Lächler* Walther Kiaulehn proved to those who were not so familiar with his newspaper articles that throughout his life his sense of humour never failed him, despite the many hardships he endured. His *Berlin, Schicksal einer Weltstadt*, published ten years ago, is a fitting and impressive memorial to his native city.

Soon after the war Kiaulehn moved to Munich where he lived until his death. Besides his work as a journalist he found time to act in stage plays and cabaret shows. In 1950 he joined the staff of the *Münchner Merkur* where he soon distinguished himself as one of today's leading critics.

(Photo: dpa)

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 7 December 1968)

Left-wing artists leap to action in Berlin

YOUNG REFORMERS GAIN LITTLE SUPPORT

Art policy is being pursued in West Berlin, from the left. Young painters and graphic artists, sculptors, art students and students are disgusted with what they call the "art business" which in true capitalist style is turning art into a product, abandoning real artists to the dictates of the market.

Discontent with the art industry is widespread. Led by a group of young painters well-versed in sociology, the left wing of West Berlin's art community has succeeded in reorganising the association representing the interests of graphic artists. Until now, policy was decided by the "established" elders, and it must be admitted that these were neither very imaginative nor very active.

The tactical approach of the young artists was basically simple. They first joined the association, then at the annual meeting they kept the discussion going until the elders' strength failed them and they went home. When various matters eventually came to a vote the Left-wing element was in the majority.

They secured the key positions. Now much will depend on what they have to

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Unabhängige Tageszeitung

offer. That they will not be willing to take anything sitting down goes without saying.

Similar tactics were employed by the left against the West Berlin Kunstverein. The statutes of this Verein are reputedly not very democratic. Associate members are not allowed to vote. This right is reserved for fully subscribing members, about thirty in number, and these are life members.

Again the left succeeded in forming a majority at the annual meeting. A motion to alter the statues of the association was adopted.

Now the subscribing members must decide what to do. They would be ill-advised to reject the proposals of the left, as various long-established members attempted to do at the annual meeting.

One old gentleman cried pathetically, "Those who are bored can leave." Professor Werner Haftmann said that the attitude of the opposition was "unusually childish." Other worthies lapsed into the patronising tone of "Now listen here, young man," as if these young men were not to be taken seriously.

Not one of the full members of the Kunstverein was prepared to take a stand on the resolutions tabled by the young reformers. Their refusal to discuss proposals to revise the Verein's statutes was indeed a sad sign of their own ineptitude.

What these young painters and sculptors envisage is a cooperative framework within the Kunstverein. In other words, all members whether subscribing or otherwise should get together and discuss planned exhibitions, purchases and measures to promote art in West Berlin.

Professor Haftmann fears that such democratic processes within the association would lead to provincial trends in art. The reformers do not share this view and are confident that their better arguments will ultimately prevail.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 9 December 1968)

EDUCATION

Universities clamour for more flexibility in managing their financial affairs

Basic Law states that art and science, teaching and research may be freely pursued. Admittedly this is only half the truth; to be accurate, the proviso "as long as they do not require any money" should be added. When money, public money, is needed, the autonomy of academic institutions is endangered.

A budget covering one year states precisely how much may be spent on what, and a representative of the state, a curator or a vice-chancellor, makes sure that the budget is adhered to. In addition, the expert supervision of education ministers over economic and staffing matters as laid out in university legislation ensures that as far as anything involving money is concerned the universities are kept on a short lead.

For a long time universities have endured this short lead patiently; it is only recently that they have begun to strain at the leash and they are doing so all the more insistently, the more expensive teaching and research become, the more rapidly costs increase and the more palpably it is realised that all academic activities can be kept in a state of dependence and curtailed because of financial considerations.

One thing which annoys the universities is that the money paid out is always allocated for specific purposes. This is a result of the methods used for fiscal calculations. Money which is provided for professors can only be spent on professors, and if this is not possible because appointments procedures would be involved, then the money cannot be spent on enlarging an institute's library or purchasing technical equipment.

Another point is that at the moment budgetary plans may only be concluded for the duration of one year. The "production costs" of a university are, by their very nature, long-term investments and therefore require long-term planning.

At present if a university does not distribute the funds granted to it, it runs the risk that contributions for a particular purpose will be scratched from its next year's budget. Consequently, shortly before the end of the budgetary year all universities try to spend unused funds on something or other, and this does not always lead to rational expenditure.

A third reason for many difficulties is the division of university administration into a self-administrative department responsible for teaching and research and an economic and staff administration section, which disposes of funds.

The more money research, teaching and training require, the more important it becomes for expert decisions to be reached and to ensure that all those who are party to decision-making bring their expertise to bear.

This is becoming increasingly realised, and recent drafts for university legislation have certainly been directed towards creating a unified administration with a permanent executive body and towards giving individual departments more influence on budgetary prosopals.

A synoptical review of recent regulations concerning central administrative bodies, budget proposals, supervision and the preambles to university legislation or proposed bills, drawn up by the Federal Republic Vice-chancellors' Conference and recently made public, provides interesting conclusions on the present stage of developments.

In addition, and the Vice-chancellors' Conference agrees on this point, universities can anticipate that the reform of budgetary law initiated by the government will result in further loosening of the universities' budgetary straight-jacket.

The Federal government has put forward three bills which are intended to transform the traditional financial policy aimed merely at covering necessities into a modern "organised financial policy," and to eliminate the difficulties created by the medium-term financial planning because of budgetary legislation.

The first bill involves an amendment to Basic Law which will smooth the way for reforms; the second establishes principles for harmonising the budgetary legislation of the central government and the Federal states; and the third bill proposes new Federal budget regulations which would replace the Reich Budget Act of 1922 which is still valid.

A report commissioned by the Vice-chancellors' Conference and drawn up by the Tübingen lawyer Professor Thomas Oppermann comes to the conclusion that universities would have good reason for welcoming the development envisaged in the reform bills.

In order to ensure that the new possibilities would also be exploited in favour of universities, Professor Oppermann suggests that the bill should include a clause relating to universities which would replace the Reich Budget Act monising budgetary law.

Working arrangements

According to this clause, entries in budgetary plans for universities would be dealt with from the point of view of both interested parties and could be transferred to the next year's budget. Limiting clauses, which propose that funds granted could only be distributed with the permission of the Finance Ministers concerned, should be restricted to "exceptional cases of unavoidable necessity."

If the financial planning council proposed in the harmonisation legislation deals with measures intended to promote academic activities, then two representatives elected by members of the Arts, Science and Research Council, the Max Planck Society, the Research Association and the Vice-chanchellors' Conference should take part in dicussions.

The Federal Republic Vice-chancellors' Conference agrees with the view expressed in this report. It is also convinced that mutually adaptable and transferable budget entries would be more beneficial for universities than the lump sum subsidies, which have been much discussed of late because they can involve the risk of overall cuts in subsidies.

(DEUTSCHES ALLGEMEINES SONNTAGSBLATT, 8 December 1968)

Hope for Ulm design college

Despite the decision of the Stuttgart Cabinet to close the Ulm College of Design on 31 December and to reopen it after as short a break as possible, there is reason to hope that the "continuous transition" into a more stable college, which lecturers and students and the Education Ministry hope to achieve, may still be possible at the last moment.

On Friday 6 December, the Finance Committee of the Stuttgart state parliament had to decide on three motions affecting the College of Design. The National Democratic Party (NPD) had asked that the allocation for the college in the 1969 budget should be cancelled and that the college should finally be abolished.

The Social Democratic Party (SPD) and the Free Democratic Party (FDP) had submitted a motion suggesting that from January 1969 the college should continue to function as a state institute. The Christian Democratic Union (CDU) proposed that the 900,000 Marks for the College of Design should be retained conditionally.

In other words the so-called re-founding of the college for the 1969/70 winter semester must be effected and the will to continue supporting the college must exist, before the money is paid out. This is how the chairman of the Finance Committee, Frank (SPD), interprets the decision.



It is also appreciated that the College of Design needs up to 1.5 million Marks annually. The Finance Minister has explicitly stated that funds not anticipated in budgetary plans will be granted to the college for unavoidable expenses, for instance money for the upkeep of buildings or to cover the costs of appointments negotiations.

The proposed commission of experts would be primarily responsible for dealing with the formal organisation, that is the future pattern of the college, so that it is assured a firm place in the state's overall university plans.

Suggestions on this point, for example the idea of coordination with Stuttgart's technical college, have been too vague up to now. The fact that College of Design students do not need to have passed school-leaving examinations would obstruct complete coordination with the technical college. (This difficulty would be eliminated if in future the College of Design made admission conditional upon the possession of a technical university diploma.)

Now that the Baden-Württemberg Finance Committee has made known its desire and intention to retain a college of design in the state through its latest budget, one wonders whether the sponsor of the college, the Scholl Foundation, could not do something to help: for example, paying salaries, even if reduced salaries, between January and the autumn of 1969 until the new status of the college has been firmly established.

The foundation is giving serious thought to this matter, as was reported by executive member Zumsteg (Ulm). Zumsteg expressed special praise for the students, who have probably suffered greater hardship than lecturers because of conditions at the college since last February. The best and the really constructive suggestions about the future of the College of Design, which despite everything remains a unique institution, have come from the students themselves. (It was recently rumoured that Olten in Switzerland was interested in taking over the college.)

One can only hope that matters will take a turn for the better.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 7 December 1968)

Second channel makes preparations for television university

Television's favourite professor, zoo director Bernhard Grzimek, is in for some competition. Preparations are now underway at the 2nd Channel headquarters in Mainz for a truly contrasting programme called Television University, or as director Karl Holzamer prefers to call it, "Tele-Uni".

Whereas today medical students crane their necks to get a look at a "case", in a few years time a single television camera may provide students with a photographic commentary on procedures in the comfort of their own rooms. Students may also be able to watch chemical experiments on TV.

The television university is certainly not a new idea conceived by the 2nd Channel. But now that comparable experiments have been conducted in other countries, now that the government is prepared to help financially and now that legal documents on the possible status of a TV university have been put forward, realisation of these bold television plans is a good deal more likely.

For a start "a series of programmes orientated towards university studies" is due to begin next autumn. The concept of a television university is clearly defined: because of overcrowding at universities, television is to be exploited to reduce the burden imposed on present further education establishments.

A television university would be particularly useful for introductory lectures in all subjects and for scientific courses. It would be the first university to concentrate entirely on teaching to the exclusion of original research.

Karl Holzamer, director of the 2nd Channel, harbours no illusions as to the possibilities and limits of a tele-uni: "We will never be able to replace universities; we merely want to ease their task. This presupposes that universities recognise what is taught by the television university. We do not want to arouse any false hopes which would only cause disappointment."

At the same time Professor Holzamer stresses the importance of personal encounters between teachers and students. Thus, in addition to the television programmes, seminars and contact points would have to be initiated at universities so that the material taught per television could be revised and intensified.

Finally, as before all examinations would have to be taken at existing universities, because only the present universities are entitled to confer degrees. The enormous financial outlay involved in setting up a tele-uni would only be justified if as many universities as possible introduced accompanying seminars, since the 2nd Channel programmes would be screened throughout the Federal Republic.

At the insistence of Christian Democratic Bundestag member Dr Berthold Martin, who is also a member of the 2nd Channel board of governors, Federal Minister of Research Gerhard Stoltenberg approved in principle "appropriate financial participation by the government" in the middle of October last year.

In accordance with the "agreement between the government and Federal states on the establishment and extension of universities" dated 18 February 1968, the central government could cover fifty per cent of the investment costs of a television university. A pre-requisite, however, would be close cooperation with an existing university, as envisaged by the Hamburg lawyer Professor Werner Thieme in a report on "Legal Aspects of a Television University."

An existing university could establish an institute for television teaching and the 2nd Channel would simply act as an intermediary making its equipment available to the university.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 28 November 1968)

MEDICINE

Disadvantages of plaster casts

DEGENERATION SYMPTOMS IN THE BONES

Frankfurter Allgemeine
ZEITUNG FÜR DEUTSCHLAND

In the old days orthopedists treated many diseases of the limbs by immobilisation in plaster, often for several months; this applied, for example, to congenital dislocation of the hip-joint, bone operations and resetting congenital contractures of the limbs such as club-feet or talipes calcaneus.

Small children who were immobilised in a pelvic plaster-cast for more than twelve weeks often suffered spontaneous fractures more frequently than usual. In addition, symphysis, glenoid cavity and convex articular surface often developed deformities.

These modifications used to be associated with an innate inferiority of the osseous tissue, which was thought to account for all limb deformities and also inflammatory, degenerative illnesses. Disturbances in bone growth following injuries during childhood were partially due to inappropriate use of plaster of Paris.

Joachim Eichler, lecturer and senior orthopedic specialist at the Justus Liebig University in Giessen, has made a thorough study of the causes of this bone atrophy. He was recently awarded the 5,000-Mark Heine Prize by the Federal Republic Orthopedic Society for his investigation.

As part of his study, Eichler experimented on guinea-pigs of various ages; the animals were put in pelvic plaster-casts for between two and six weeks. Even after only two weeks' immobilisation, the subsequent examination of the leg revealed considerable modifications to cartilage and bones.

The leg growth of the youngest experimental animals was reduced by four millimetres; as a result of plaster treatment, slightly older "adolescent" animals displayed a reduced growth of 1.6 millimetres.

After only one week in plaster, the tensile strength of the leg is reduced by 20 per cent; after three weeks it drops by 50 per cent, and after six weeks in plaster it amounts to a mere 33 per cent of the original value. Immobilisation also reduces the hardness of the smallest areas of the bone surface.

X-ray measurement of sections of leg bone from which plaster had been removed after only two weeks treatment showed a 53-per-cent reduction in the bone trabecula surface. Decomposition of bone trabecula in growing animals occurs chiefly during the first few weeks of immobilisation; the decomposition of bone cortex, on the other hand, progresses considerably more slowly.

Weighing un-plastered small sections of bone cortex demonstrated mineral losses of between 10.8 and 14.6 per cent of the bone tissue still present. Immobilisation also increases the amount of calcium excreted in faeces, and phosphorus excretion also increases slightly, whilst the potassium balance remains positive.

On the basis of his clinical and experimental experience, Eichler recommends various measures to reduce osteoporosis, that is the complications caused by degeneration of firm osseous tissue. For instance, a plastercast should only be applied if it is absolutely necessary.

If immobilisation in plaster is prescribed, it should be remembered that with small children complications can arise as a result of inactivity osteoporosis within a few months. In the long run, therefore, surgical treatment is often much more beneficial than several months in plaster to correct malformations of the limbs.

Malformations on both sides of the body should either be surgically remedied during a single operation, or the second deformity should only be operated upon after breaking off immobilisation. If limbs need to be immobilised for long periods, consideration should be given as to whether temporary immobilisation in clinical apparatuses would be sufficient.

When operating upon severe infantile malformations, restoring the functioning of the limb is decisive at first. Once children are able to walk and hold onto things, sufficient bone substance will be formed through stress and movement. After a few years osteoporosis is scarcely evident, and then cosmetic surgery can be carried out.

During the first few days after plaster has been removed, bones are more likely to break. Passive exercises should, therefore, be avoided at all costs. Children should not be expected to do too much when performing active exercises. Pain should be avoided as far as possible.

More difficult exercises should only be prescribed if X-ray plates show that the growth centres can withstand stress. Children who refuse to run after long periods of immobilisation may still have weak bones.

Degeneration symptoms in the bones as a result of enforced immobilisation are marked in adults as in children. But formative modifications arise after a few weeks. Operations on bones and limbs, which allow patients to move soon after surgical treatment because of artificial insertion of convex articular surfaces or stable fixation of bones—stable osteosynthesis—are far easier for patients to bear than operations on the skeleton which require lengthy immobilisation in plaster of Paris.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 4 December 1968)

Godsend for people with weak hearts

At least 30,000 people would not be alive today if the electronic cardiac pacemaker had not been developed. This equipment, which is about the size of a box of matches, enables its wearers to lead an eight-volt life. This is the current by means of which a "tired" heart is encouraged to beat by constant electric impulses, if the natural stimulation mechanisms no longer function.

But this apparatus has one grave disadvantage: the batteries which produce the eight-volt current last at best for two years. Now this problem of providing energy also seems to have been solved—by a bio-galvanic cardiac pacemaker.

At the fourth annual conference of the Federal Republic Society for Medical and Biological Electronics in Munich, Dr Max Schaldach (II Physical Institute of the West Berlin Technical University) explained the novel apparatus. It is an electrolytic pacemaker which, as was reported in the *Medical Tribune*, has already been inserted in fourteen patients and been tested for over nine months.

This piece of equipment solves the problem of providing constant stimulation in a very neat way: the body itself produces the required voltage. In principle, the mechanism works on very similar lines to the natural sequence of events.

If a person has a healthy heart the stimulation waves, which are discharged by the heart and force it to contract, occur without any "outside help." But with the electrolytic pacemaker tissue fluid from subcutaneous fatty tissue and the muscular apparatus is used to produce the necessary voltage between two electro-chemically dissimilar metals—the galvanic principle, which applies to every battery, is imitated in the living organism: hence the description bio-galvanic.

The pacemaker, provided with energy by the body, has one zinc chloride and one silver chloride electrode. The complete apparatus weighs 43 grams, about as heavy as a large letter, and at first it was quadrangular; now it is like a flat cylinder and is 40 millimetres in diameter and 13 millimetres thick, about as big as a round pill box.

At first the stimulator operated without a voltage regulator so that the impulse frequency was unstable. Then the researchers at West Berlin's Technical University developed a new version; the main difference between this and the previous apparatus is that it has a stop-regulator, which chops up the voltage and simultaneously acts as a transformer.

The device also has condensers for alternating voltage, rectifying current and storage purposes as well as the usual pacemaker circuit. A field-effect transistor also involves a voltage regulator, which helps to increase the voltage for the stop-regulator to an initial strength of 5.5 v.

Three years of research preceded the development of the biogalvanic pacemaker. Because of the success achieved with the apparata already inserted, fifteen more insertions are to be undertaken as soon as possible. Of the original fourteen, only one did not work because it was inserted subcutaneously and attached to a previous cable system, which caused unfavourable diffusion reactions.

KielerNachrichten
LANDESZEITUNG FÜR SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN

The insertion of a pacemaker is more effective in the pectoral muscle than in the subcutaneous tissue, as well "moistened" tissue is more suitable. If the apparatus is used constantly for a year, one gram of zinc is given off by the electrode and this is oxidised by a galvanic process.

If diffusion conditions are favourable, the zinc oxidises more easily. No toxic reactions were observed in patients or experimental animals, though insertions did cause minor tissue modifications, which were only painful if the device was inserted subcutaneously.

(Kieler Nachrichten, 5 December 1968)

THE ECONOMY

Law of integration is world-wide

BY ECONOMIC AFFAIRS MINISTER DR. KARL SCHILLER



International division of labour is by no means a theoretical demand or a programme only. It is the only possible way to satisfy the demands of world population increases. It is also the prerequisite for the full exploitation of the advantages of productivity and of progress in the technological and economic field.

From this follows that exports are by no means a higher value in themselves although they represent a considerable growth element. This is no less true of imports. For exports must always be understood as the source providing the money to pay for imports. Therefore, whoever is in favour of an increase in exports must also be in favour of higher imports.

Moreover, in view of the close integration in today's international economy, it is not possible in the long run that a country seeks full employment and internal stability at the cost of equilibrium in the field of foreign trade and payments. A "beggar-my-neighbour" policy can never be upheld. For surpluses on goods and services of one country are always confronted with equally large deficits of other countries.

The state of external disequilibrium is also disadvantageous for a surplus country. If it pursues a reasonable policy it will therefore pursue of its own accord the policy of a good creditor. At the same time, deficit countries will obviously press for higher imports of goods and larger exports of capital by surplus countries.

The Federal Republic whose surplus trading position has been the consequence of the recession of 1966/67 has accelerated also the growth of imports by its active economic policy. Moreover, it has increased its exports of capital which with a tendency towards longer terms come up to almost 9,000 million Marks in 1968.

A fact frequently forgotten is that this country has an adverse basic balance. The surpluses accrue in the balance of trade. It is shown here that although the revival of business activity has led to an accelerated growth of imports, exports on the other hand have risen at an even faster rate.

It has been this development which has led to the demand raised by various circles to upvalue the Mark. This entailed large-scale speculative movements. The inflationary tendencies in some major industrialised countries too, where price increases of between four and five per cent are no exception, had to be kept away from the Federal Republic where, for two years, a relative price stability has been ruling.

For that reason, the Federal government has taken fast action through taxation measures as a safeguard against external influences. It appreciates very much that the Bundestag on its part has passed the legal provisions by an accelerated procedure.

The advantage of this system over a revaluation of the Mark is obvious: taxation measures are limited in time and are more flexible. This is of great importance in the light of the Federal Republic's international economic situation and of the economic development in major industrialised countries.

Our partners in the Group of Ten have appreciated the policy of the Federal government in the three days' monetary conference held in Bonn. Incidentally the deficit countries as well as the surplus countries have indicated their willingness to make an effective contribution to the stability of the international monetary system by pursuing an appropriate and concerted economic policy.

Due to the new measures, this country's surplus position will presumably diminish by 4,000 to 5,000 million Marks in the course of the coming year. This corresponds to about one third of the present surplus.

With this the Federal Republic contributes considerably to the reduction of the international balance of payments imbalance. Naturally, the Federal Republic will export capital also in 1969, though of course not to the extent of 1968.

Capital exports cannot be regarded as a means to achieve equilibrium in the balance of payments. Another of their functions is to safeguard industrial structures. For that reason, direct investments are of great importance. They should therefore play an ever greater role within the capital exports of the Federal Republic. For they too eventually serve international division of labour.

However, the question of a promotion of investments abroad by general tax reliefs which is frequently put cannot be so easily answered. Whoever contemplates an extension to industrialised countries of tax reliefs applying to investments in developing countries must keep in mind that this may lead to distortions.

It is impossible for the Federal government on the one hand to grant a bonus for investments in new industries in this country's coalmining areas and at the same time to give tax incentives to direct investments in neighbouring countries.

Apart from this, exports of capital as such must always be seen under the perspective of investment requirements at home. Long-term growth policy in a highly industrialised economy demands a great input of capital.

Foreign trade policy must take into account all these factors. It must see to it that the advantages of international division of labour must become effective.

In doing so, it must neither impede long-term prospects of development nor must it disturb the process of adaption by too abrupt a change. In addition, the law of integration is world-wide. Therefore, any association of countries to form homogeneous markets like those of the European Communities must adapt itself to the world-wide economic process. Last of all, however, it must not impede progress.

(Photo: Archiv/Darchinger)

(Industriekurier, 10 December 1968)

East Berlin made major trade concessions by Bonn

After political setbacks—introduction of visas by East Berlin, intervention in Czechoslovakia—the Federal Republic by making certain concessions has taken a few steps in the direction that was anticipated by the 1966 government policy statement. It was announced then that "the Federal government is anxious to extend the volume of intra-German trade, which cannot be called foreign trade. We want to ease tensions, not intensify them. We want to span the rifts, not deepen them. Thus it is our wish to make every effort to improve relations with our fellow countrymen in the other part of Germany."

Restrictions and obstacles placed in the way of this policy by the East Berlin government have not shaken the determination of the Federal government to do the right thing. Bonn has now made great concessions to East Berlin to ensure that at least trade ties between both parts of Germany are maintained and developed. Before this could be done an old bone of contention had to be removed.

Until a new law was introduced in 1964, with reference to the Common Market, the production and refining of crude oil in this country enjoyed various benefits. Soviet Zone oil products also profited from these.

Only temporary aid measures, however, were provided under the new law. The Soviet Zone continued to demand the old preferential treatment to the extent of 129 Marks per ton of petrol, as well as 200 million Marks as retrospective payment for losses incurred since the new legislation was introduced.

For a long time both sides refused to compromise on this point. By the terms of the original law the Soviet Zone could barter petrol and diesel oil against machinery and other vital products.

A compromise has, however, now been agreed. The Federal government has undertaken to pay in sixty million Marks to East Berlin's account with the Bundesbank at the end of this year, and another sixty million at the end of next year. With this money East Berlin will buy machinery.

Petrol and diesel oil will be supplied from now on under normal conditions. Supplies are expected to be worth fifty million Marks next year.

The East Berlin government probably agreed to this compromise in the hope of gaining access more readily to another subsidised sector. Nowhere can Soviet Zone farmers receive a better price for their produce than in the Federal Republic.

Worth noting are the agreements on supplies of machinery until 1975, for the duration, that is, of the Soviet Zone's latest development programme. These underline both sides' interest in a long-term exchange of goods.

Higher interest-free credit reserves (swing) combined with the termination of yearly balancing of accounts have also been under discussion for some time. The swing level now agreed—25 per cent of the value of Soviet Zone deliveries last year—must be deemed a great concession on Bonn's part.

In the present circumstances much will depend on how willing the communist side, on the basis of the new agreements, is to increase intra-German trade. Last year's figures are not very encouraging. Trade stagnated at 2,700 million Marks, and 1968 is not expected to have been much better.

In the past politics have always been the spanner in the works of inter-zonal trade. Communist ideology prescribes that "the socialist community of nations" must be capable of solving its own problems. Sensible economists, who wish to utilise the international division of labour in the interests of their own welfare, are always open to the charge of "treason" in the face of such narrow-minded and egocentric principles.

In this climate—the ideology still holds—limits are set to the future development of intra-German trade. The again more centralised East Berlin economic policy, however, needs a stopgap margin of development to compensate for losses when its five-year plans fall short of their targets. This stopgap besides papering over the flaws in the communist system must also contain the inevitable decline in growth rates following the politically predestined overcommitment of industry and trade in the Eastern Bloc.

In this context East Berlin is continually reminded of the value of inter-zonal trade. Bonn is of course interested in expanding the market for political reasons. The greater the volume of trade the more secure will be the approach routes to Berlin.

Besides, the smaller the prosperity gap between both parts of Germany the less tension there will be. Professor Karl Schiller, the Minister of Economic Affairs, expressed this hope at a recent meeting of the Bundestag all-German committee.

Before the new agreements were reached the Federal government had made a number of unilateral concessions to East Berlin. One such is a Federal guarantee for long-term capital goods supplies. A company was set up to promote the financing of industrial plant. The order cancellation clause for deliveries to the Soviet Zone was abolished in 1967.

The number of quota restrictions was reduced. More goods can be procured from the Soviet Zone on the basis of open tenders. The Federal government this year also issued general trade permits instead of the separate permits that had been previously required.

The new director of the trust company for inter-zonal trade, Willy Kleindienst, negotiated the new agreements, scoring his first success in East Berlin. He will remain the Ministry of Economic Affairs' inter-zonal trade expert.

Professor Schiller has called the new arrangement the "central level" between Bonn and East Berlin. By all accounts, this level is now functioning well. It remains to be seen what advantages can be gained from talks at higher levels. In this respect East Berlin must make the first move.

Of more immediate importance is the extent to which the East Berlin government will for its part be prepared to make compromises. The Federal government has repeatedly drawn attention to the fact that efforts to increase the volume of trade are continually being foiled or obstructed by inadequate transport, communications and payments facilities in the other part of Germany.

East Berlin's efforts to improve the system in central Europe contrast sharply with its endeavours to achieve international recognition. In the Federal Republic a businessman can within a few seconds reach a colleague or a customer in many Western European countries. A connection with the Soviet Zone of Germany often takes longer than a call to a developing country at the other end of the earth.

While East Berlin is busy printing visa forms Western European customs officials are removing controls. What or where is the world status that East Berlin is so anxious to achieve?

(DIE WELT, 10 December 1968)



INDUSTRY

Willy Korf - shrewd steel industrialist

GAMBLING ON HIGHER STEEL CONSUMPTION

Willy Korf, the shrewd outsider in the steel industry, caused much head-shaking two years ago when he built a modern rolling mill for bar stock in Kehl on the Rhine. Now, just to prove that this was not the only trick in the bag, he completed within eight months an entire electric steel mill with a continuous casting plant for the manufacture of raw steel and semi-finished products, besides a brand new rod mill.

With its own supplies of natural steel Badische Stahlwerke (BSW) in Kehl is now an integrated iron and steel producing enterprise. The electric steel plant, the heart of the concern, is one of the most modern in Europe.

The Korf group—the holding company is Korf Industrie und Handel in Baden-Baden—now have all the facilities they need in the BSW rod plant. Korf's "miniature" steel mill will have an annual output of 400,000 tons in the electric steel plant and a maximum 400,000 tons of bar stock and rolled wire in its two rolling mills. Together, this will represent one per cent only of this country's steel output of forty million tons annually.

The giants in the Ruhr therefore need not fear the dwarf in Kehl, for the present at least. BSW is, however, this

CHRIST UND WELT

Deutsche Wochenzeitung

country's largest supplier of reinforced concrete rounds, accounting for twenty per cent of sales.

Willy Korf was borne along on the conviction that the future of the steel industry will not be determined entirely by large concerns, whose huge facilities are very susceptible to market fluctuations. He maintains that smaller companies are well able to survive on today's market because they are more flexible and even superior to the mammoth enterprises in having lower production costs.

Overall capital investment of the Kehl concern—including the bar stock plant that went into operation in 1966—is placed at 250 Marks per ton of annual production. Herr Korf considers this an extremely good average. The lowest known figure for conventionally integrated steel mills is 1,000 Marks per ton of annual output.

Speaking at the opening of the new plant, Herr Korf said that the decision to expand his company into an independent steel mill was influenced by price policy and the supply restrictions of various sales offices (Kontors) for rolled products. These would not have allowed him to meet his full needs of raw material at "reasonable prices" with Federal Republic offices.

The only alternative was to order more material from French companies. This arrangement has worked out well for the Korf concern.

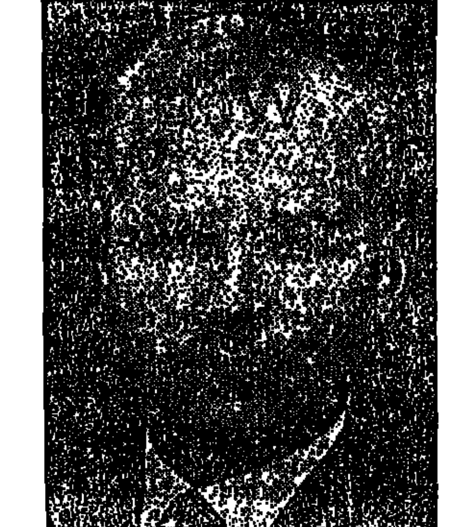
BSW plant is doubtless well situated at the Strassbourg-Kehl central point of Europe. This country's southern market is right at its door, other consumer centres as well as export harbours at the mouth of the Rhine can easily be reached by boat. Supplies of raw material in the middle of the southern scrap iron industry present no problems.

American participation

Early in 1968 Willy Korf planned to reorganise the Kehl production plants by incorporating four subsidiaries into Badische Stahlwerke. The Korf holding company, Industrie und Handel took over 7.5 million Marks' worth of common stock from the fifteen-million-Mark share capital of Badische Stahlwerke.

The same amount of preference shares with a hitherto undisclosed dividend guarantee is held by the Investitions- und Handelsbank in Frankfurt. Returns this year of the Kehl plant, employing 750 workers, amounted to 110 million Marks, compared with 100 million Marks last year. Turnover in 1969 is expected to climb to 140 million Marks. Along with other plant in the group, returns of 160 million this year and 200 million Marks in 1969 are expected.

Willy Korf has no intention of marking time in Kehl. He is looking to the future and is reported to be planning another 300,000-ton Korf-style electrical steel and rolling mill in Hamburg harbour. In this project he will probably join forces with an American partner.



Willy Korf

(Photo: Industriekurier)

This will be Hamburg's first iron and steel producing industry and will be known as Hamburg Stahlwerke, the estimated cost of the mill is 60 to 75 million Marks.

As in the case of Kehl, the availability of scrap seems to have been an important factor in Korf's decision to build in Hamburg. The transport facilities of the port of Hamburg for iron sponge and ore also enhanced the value of a site in that city.

The David of the steel industry is also looking towards the deep-sea harbours of Holland that can accommodate heavy ore vessels and are supplied with cheap natural gas. Here Herr Korf thinks the opportunities are favourable for the direct refining of iron ore to iron sponge pellets which, besides scrap, could be used in electric furnaces and would be on a par with pig iron.

With these plans for expansion the present outsider in the steel industry wants to show that small companies too can increase the pace of progress in the steel sector without great capital investment in research, and without technical bias. Willy Korf is counting on higher steel consumption. He believes that the way to success in the steel industry is not signposted solely by the giant concerns that have dominated the market until now.

(CHRIST UND WELT, 29 November 1968)

Leading petrol consumers

Despite a sluggish economy last year motorists in this country consumed more petrol than motorists in other European countries. Figures issued by Deutsche Shell show that 12.4 million tons of petrol flowed last year from the 46,300 filling stations in this country, and via the supply sources of large-scale consumers, into 12.6 million private vehicles. Military vehicles accounted for about 300,000 tons.

Second on the petrol consumption list was Great Britain with 12.3 million tons. Far behind in third place came France with 8.9, followed by Italy with 7.2 and Sweden with 2.4 million tons. A total of 53.7 million tons of petrol was consumed by vehicles last year in the thirteen EEC and Efta countries.

A comparison of petrol consumption in Europe and America shows that European motorists are less inclined to waste petrol. The 212.2 million tons used between New York and San Francisco last year was four times the amount consumed in the EEC and Efta together and eighteen times greater than the total for the Federal Republic.

Canada needed 16.8 million tons last year, considerably more than the Federal Republic. Japan, which has outstripped this country in oil consumption generally, is still a developing country in petrol consumption. Last year, consumption was estimated at 10.7 million tons.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 4 December 1968)

Russians buy our steel

Large orders for cold-rolled thin sheet have been placed in recent weeks by the Soviet Union with this country's steel industry. The total volume of orders is said to be 150,000 to 200,000 tons.

Further supplies were considered in recent talks with Soviet officials. In the matter of prices the Soviet buyers had no choice but to accept the quotations of Federal Republic plants which are now profiting from the general uplift in the economy and will be working in some cases at full capacity until the third quarter of 1969, according to reliable sources.

The prices agreed with the Soviet Union are reported to be only a few dollars below the normal export quotations for third countries. The current rate for cold-rolled sheet is 115 dollars per ton.

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 29 November 1968)

Discount stores represent serious challenge to the retail trade

In a two-year spurt that came as a surprise to most retailers in this country discount stores have expanded to claim four per cent of overall turnover in the retail sector. Gross returns of this country's 350 large-scale discount stores, covering a floor space of nine million square feet are estimated this year at roughly 6,000 million Marks.

Extensive market surveys forecast a bright future for these markets that are relatively new in this country. In a few years they are expected to account for eight per cent of sales.

Until now, department stores have virtually had the retail market to themselves. Great changes have taken place in the past two years.

Today, small traders in the food and non-food sectors are cooperating with major department stores against the encroachments of the discount stores. This is clear from various unambiguous statements by representatives of both groups.

Their fears are not unfounded. It must be remembered that the discount stores this year nearly absorbed retailers' entire growth rate of 4,000 million Marks.

Discount stores have the edge over their competitors in prices that are ten to

Hannoversche Presse

fifteen per cent lower than in ordinary stores. The markets compensate for this with an enormous range of products in which the emphasis is not on elegance of display.

Markets are often found in old factory buildings. Capital costs can thus be reduced to 12 to 42 Marks per square foot of floor space.

Retail stores especially in city centres cannot afford to plan as haphazardly. Here costs are much higher because the emphasis is on pleasant surroundings.

Discount stores are found on the fringes of densely populated areas. They offer spacious parking facilities, thus saving customers precious time looking for parking space near retail stores that are often quite a way in from the street.

Over 85 per cent of discount store customers come in cars. Other benefits that are reflected in prices are the full use of self-service methods, also in the case of non-food articles, and attractive terms of delivery resulting from a high bulk turnover.

Many experts maintain, however, that limits have already been set to the expansion of discount stores. It is said to be a question of time until this system is also integrated into the overall retail complex.

In the event, discount stores have a chance of survival only when they, firstly, are of a certain size (at least several thousand square feet of floor space), and, secondly, have a wide circle of customers.

With markets expanding in all parts of the Federal Republic competition among them is becoming very keen. Other retail enterprises hope to turn this rivalry to their own benefit and also the fact that consumers, with purchasing power on the increase, will not be content with cheap products or an inefficient service network and advisory service.

Many retailers advance the view that within a few years discount stores will enter a phase of consolidation, so that the gap between the various sectors of the retail trade will gradually close. The present boom in these markets at any rate is not expected to last.

(Hannoversche Presse, 27 November 1968)

YOUTH

Young people very ready to get to know each other

Young people in France and this country are eager not to follow in the paths their parents trod. Twenty-three years after the cessation of hostilities in the Second World War young people in both countries have a saner view of neighbourliness than did the previous generations.

This view was expressed by 69 per cent of the French people questioned, 8 per cent more than in 1963, and in the Federal Republic the figure remained more or less constant compared with the 1963 figure at 63 per cent, according to a report released recently by the Bielefeld Emnid Institute in this country and the Institut Français d'Opinion in Paris. The reports were prepared at the request of officials handling the affairs of Federal Republic-French youth exchange programmes.

Both institutes interviewed average young people between the ages of 15 and 24 and questioned them on matters concerning the neighbourliness existing between France and this country.

The main point that appeared from the survey was that in both countries, despite political differences over the past five years, there was still considerable readiness from young people on both sides to get to know each other by direct contacts. Debates concerning Britain's entry into the Common Market had also done little to diminish this attitude, according to both institutes.

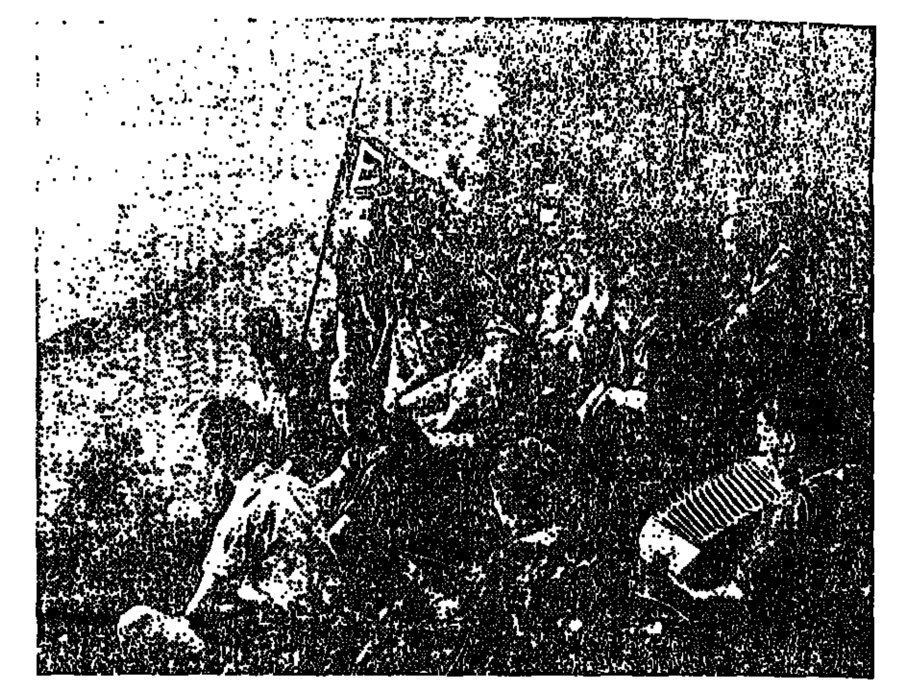
The younger generation that has frequently been called sceptical and clear-headed but which is also much more broad-minded and uninhibited than the hard hit older generation, is only too ready to get to known how things are at first hand. This is something quite different for the older generation.

A total of 83 per cent of the young people in this country and 86 per cent in France in 1968 expressed the wish to get to know the young people in the neighbouring country "in order to understand them better." Since the commencement of youth exchanges between this country and France in 1963 these figures show an increase in the Federal Republic of 14 per cent and in France an increase of 10 per cent.

Statistics show that in 1968 thirty per cent of the 8 million young people between the ages of 15 and 24 in this country visited France whilst only 19 per cent of their 6 million French counterparts visited this country. Although these figures show increases they indicate clearly, and particularly as regards France, that youth exchanges have had little effect.

Today a young lad from this country is likely to ogle a pretty French girl, but it is not so likely that he will embrace her. The French girl is charming and feminine but she can be shrill and a shrew just like anywhere else. The German boy can be a little over exuberant and perhaps he will go a little too far in his amorous advances. Then the French girl is all confusion and the German boy blushes red with embarassment.

These two are not the only ones to get mixed up in loving. Admiration at first sight comes to young people in this country not only for the French but also for the Austrians, and believe it or not, for the British.



Young people from this country with young people from France (Photo: dpa)

Taking comparisons among eight nations for the young people of this country the French come fourth behind Austrians, the Dutch and the British.

The French are a little more reserved. Britain is the most popular with them, then Holland, the US, Italy, Austria and Spain. The Federal Republic does not appear until the seventh place. The French have the least admiration for the Soviet Union.

Basically these findings are the same as in 1963. What is important to note is that for young people in this country and in France there has been a decline in the number of answers given in showing a "very good" or "good" opinion of the neighbouring country.

These conclusions are matter for any number of books. It shows clearly that there is a temperamental and mental difference between the two peoples that in the past has been disastrous and which currently does much to prevent total political understanding. There are recollections of the past that need more time than a decade or so to erased from the mind. Finally there is also the influence of current political opinions which provide hooks for old-remembered differences to hang on. All this can be summed up in the confusion that exists for people in this country and the French.

Young Frenchmen and young people here are also burdened with these old prejudices.

When the French were asked their opinion of the young people in this country they said they found them, "hard-working, hospitable and intelligent." The replies from the other side were not so flattering. To young people in this country the French are considered to be "arrogant and presumptuous, servile and uncritical, dour and humourless."

Young people in the Federal Republic think of their contemporaries the other side of the border as "bright, happy, kind and hospitable." But the other side of the coin cannot be ignored. To so many young people in this country French youth is generally "superficial and frivolous, arrogant and presumptuous, as well as idle".

There was a surprising unanimity between young people of this country and French youth concerning matters involving questions of culture and economics. (The comparisons were made with ten countries.) When the young people from the ten countries were asked which nation had developed most economically the answer was unamimously the Federal Republic. Everyone said that the French had the most important modern literature and that the Federal Republic had the most highly developed industrical structure. Dissent came into things when films were mentioned. Young people from this country seem to think that the French, as well as the Swedes, produce the best in modern cinema. Young French people praised the Italians in this respect. As regards the "best music" all ten nations gave the laurels to what is surely the most unmusical nation in Europe—the British. But this was really a question of Bach versus the Beatles.

What do the young people in the Federal Republic and France think of the relations between the two countries? The answer to this question, which is intimately connected with the political relationships that exist between the two countries was the most informative aspect of the survey. The youth of this country is a little disillusioned. The French seem to keep them at arm's length. In 1963 as much as 22 per cent of the French young people spoke of "an especially close relationship". Five years later this percentage had dropped to 15. In the previous survey 66 per cent—as opposed to 54 per cent in the 1968 survey—were of the opinion that the relationship with the Federal Republic should be the same as that with other states. In the latest survey 14 per cent of the French—two per cent more than in the 1963 comparisons—said that relationships with the Federal Republic should be cautious.

Young people in the Federal Republic thought quite differently. Thirty-six per cent of them were in favour of an especially close relationship with France—three per cent more than in the 1963 survey. 61 per cent, as opposed to 64 per cent in 1963, favoured relationships which were similar to those with other states. Only 2 per cent wanted to have a cautious policy with France, as opposed to three per cent in the previous figures.

The researchers who conducted the survey came to the conclusion that the contemporary deterioration in Federal Republic-French relationships over the last five years is a result of a general trend. "The more objective the questions posed to the young people, the more positive did it appear their basic attitudes were." This is obviously a manifestation of the readiness of young people here and in France to come into contact with each other and try to understand each other's point of view.

Another point came from the survey. Either views between the two nations' young people are "shouting with delight from the skies" or are in a very "distressed" condition. One thing appeared with persistent regularity when the young people from both sides were interviewed. They all wanted to have more information about each other. That can be a good basis for a friendship that can sometimes be critical, and sometimes highly critical. (Frankfurter Rundschau, 3 December 1968)



SPORT

Sport and the screen are still strange bedfellows

OBERHAUSEN SPORTS FILM FESTIVAL INAUGURATED

Oberhausen, the home of an international short film festival since 1954, was the scene of competing criteria at its first international festival of sport on film and TV. Following in the footsteps of Grenoble, Cortina d'Ampezzo and Kranj this country has now devoted an entire festival to sporting motifs, but Oberhausen this time proved that sport, as was to be expected, is not in every respect a satisfactory subject.

Fifty-three entries from among the 312 submitted from 32 countries were screened, accompanied for the four days of the festival by a retrospective of major older films, such as Ichikawa's Tokyo film, and an information programme.

A jury that included Mexican cameraman Gabriel Figueroa, who has worked for Bunuel on a number of occasions, Walther Schmieding, the future artistic director of West Berlin Festival, and Ulrich Schamoni, a representative of this country's new wave of filmmakers, was overwhelmed by the variety of entries, ranging from educational, documentational and artistic films, reportage, feature and advertising to propaganda shorts from Cuba.

In talks formal and informal, the net outcome of which was to make the classification appear even more dubious, members of the jury and their supporters came out strongly against a kind of cataloguing that threatened to take the decisions out of their hands. This is understandable enough, yet when the time came to make awards a system of classification was employed that will be just as controversial in two years' time when, it can only be hoped, the festival is repeated.

The same distinction is bound to be drawn, it was said, between educational, TV and cinema films. Educational films being made with slightly different aims in mind, they cannot be assessed in terms of cinema to such an extent as the other two.

This was plain enough at Oberhausen, as was the inability of the TV film to represent serious competition on the cinema screen. TV comes off best in its natural habitat. The medium may be the message but television sports films failed to put it across.

The jury did not rest on its laurels. Its awards gave contour to the blurred concept of sports films. *The Final Game* by Gary Goldsmith of the United States headed the list of four 5,000 Mark prize-winning films for more than alphabetic reasons.

The two basketball teams, Celtics and Cincinnati Royals, are followed in close-up by the camera, their every action dissected by stills and accompanied by a precise and laconic commentary.

There is not a trace of pathos or the superfluous. "Cincinnati leads by four", the commentator noted. His German counterpart would doubtless have gone into greater but unnecessary detail. The words serve merely to help the picture along. The tenor of understatement seemed ideally suited for sports reporting.

Starting with the logic of prearranged moves, which are shown in a way that makes immediate sense to both basketball specialist and layman, the film goes on to show the jubilation of the final stages of the game and the apex of victory. The final cheers are left to speak for themselves. Drama and information are forged into thrilling and calculated reportage.

Drama of another kind is conveyed by *Stay Still While I Hit You*, a golfing film in which Don Higgins of Great Britain shows the relationship between the course, the player and the ball. The audience is spellbound by the contrast between manicured nature and fighting professional golfers who continually engage in conversation with the tiny, innocent ball.

The rubber lens (there is nothing golfers hate more than the whir of cameras) brings ace golfers down to size by showing their everyday reactions. They seem so realistic that the audience would like to pat them on the back or say a word of consolation and plays along with the golfers until the final green.

The two other award-winners, *Gladiators* from Czechoslovakia and *Nathalie* from the Soviet Union, are not so unquestionably first-rate. The Czech film contains delightful moments in which heroism in the arena is wittily unmasked and the reality behind the grand gestures brought to light. Conventional in form, the film includes many a rare sporting moment culled from the archives.

Nathalie is a profile of Soviet world champion gymnast Natasha Kuchinskaya, who talks about herself and her opinions. The text she reads out makes her appear a rather precocious seventeen-year-old.

Even so, both Eastern Bloc films have social relevance, one of the many demands made in Oberhausen. The link need not be an optimistic one. Sport should not be out for recognition at all costs as a beneficial social force.

Less rose-tinted films were also shown, *Jubilee Tour* from Poland, for instance, which was not even awarded a 1,000 Mark prize but eventually gained recognition in the form of a protest resolution.

A small town prepares to receive the racing cyclists on their way from Warsaw to Prague via East Berlin. The brass band rehearses, cushions are laid on window sills, flags and bunting arranged and a grandstand built.



A still from 'The Corner,' prizewinning Austrian entry

(Photo: Herbert Sündhofer)

Then the cyclists arrive on the scene. They whizz through the streets, rubbing the chalkmarked word "Peace" off the road with their tyres and are gone. A solitary figure is left on the grandstand, amazed that it should all have happened so quickly. The great day is over and the town returns to normal, its festive attire appearing strangely meaningless.

The Polish entry was prizeworthy. The wit and finely-contoured irony should on no account have been overlooked.

France submitted less hectic entries, gentle symphonies in colour along Lelouch lines. *Anatomie d'un mouvement*, by François Moreuil, shows joint efforts by trainer and gymnast to perfect a movement by human and technical means.

The director is on the lookout for new approaches. The camera is always finding new angles, zooming through rings (which led to the most fantastic interpretations). It was a good job that the director was present to answer queries with an unbeatable: "I had nothing whatsoever in mind. All I wanted to do was to make a good film."

Whether or not Moreuil did so consciously there can be no denying that he introduced erotic metaphors into the otherwise all too sterile sporting atmosphere. His shrug of the shoulders was intended to mean no more than: That is how I make them; it's the only way I know.

Dominique Delouche, his fellow-countryman, provided a display of basketballet, basketball as a Classical pas de cinq leading on to choreography of jubilation. Delouche, who claims never to watch sporting events, has shown with *But* that this is not necessary either if an aesthetic film is what is wanted. Sport is seen by a temperament rather than merely reproduced on film.

At this juncture a word of deprecation must be said about the run-of-the-mill and complacent productions of the advertising industry. For 43 minutes Willy Bogner Jr's *Skifaszination* sent current winter sports fashions through the slalom markers. After five minutes or so the audience noted that whoever they were, they were quite good at skiing and thereupon lost all interest.

An Italian entry, Giuseppe Sallini's *110 Metres Hurdles*, was also worthy of note. Form and content harmonise. The athlete sprints over the hurdles, sets up a record. After all the breathing exercises and years of training Pierre de Coubertin, who is standing at the finishing tape, asks why.

Fritz Fenzl's *Ballbesessen* (Football Crazy), a bitter commentary on sport as seen reflected in the faces of spectators, was also forgotten by the adjudicators.

The Foot and the Ball

Fenzl had much in common with *The Foot and the Ball*, the Israeli entry, a studied montage on the subject of football. The scenes convey the impression of permanent fighting between players, spectators and the referee. At intervals the ball appears, waiting peacefully, an alienation effect. In the end it even deflates.

The audience knows that football is not really like this and despite Fenzl the crowd are not like this either but the negative still makes interesting watching.

R. Staedtler and W. Backhaus of Solingen *Kooperative Jahrgang 40* submitted two two-minute talent samples. The one, *Sportabzeichen 68* (Sporting Proficiency Badge 68), was awarded a diploma, the other, simply entitled *Sport*, conveyed an even more scurrilous impression of athletes eating their breakfast with their backs to the competition, a mixture of pen knives and thermos flasks.

Sportfilmtage 68 in Oberhausen proved a successful attempt to provide the cinema with a new subject and sport with a new medium. There were a few misunderstandings, as in the case of *Goal*, a film about the 1966 world football championships at Wembley.

Some of the audience booed when Nobby Stiles appeared on the screen, others applauded the superb camera work. The crowning touch of the grotesque came when many people left the theatre when the final whistle went. As far as they were concerned it was all over — but the film went on.

Sport and the screen are still strange bedfellows but Oberhausen at least provided a glimpse of what is going on elsewhere.

(DIE WELT, 7 December 1968)

Aden	SA $ 0.05
Afghanistan	Af 10.—
Algeria	DA 0.60
Angola	Esc 1.—
Argentina	$ m n 45.—
Australia	10 c.
Austria	S 3.—
Belgium	bfr 6.—
Bolivia	$ b 1.50
Brazil	N. Cr. $ 0.35
Bulgaria	Lev 0.05
Burma	K 0.60
Burundi	F. Bu. 10.—
Cambodia	R 4.40
Cameroon	F.C.F.A. 30.—
Canada	Can. $ —.20
Ceylon	cR —.60
Chile	Esc. 0.60
Colombia	col. $ 1.—
Congo (Brazzaville)	F.C.F.A. 30.—
Congo (Kinshasa)	Makuta 7.—
Costa Rica	C 0.85
Cuba	P 0.13
Cyprus	11 d
Czechoslovakia	Kcs 0.50
Dahomey	F.C.F.A. 30.—
Denmark	dkr 0.90
Dom. Rep.	RD $ 0.15
Ecuador	S 2.50
El Salvador	C 0.30
Ethiopia	Eth. $ 0.30
Fiji	11 d
Finland	fmk 0.50
Formosa	NT $ 5.—
France	FF 0.60
Gabon	F.C.F.A. 30.—
Gambia	11 d
Germany	DM 1.—
Ghana	cedi 0.12
Great Britain	11 d
Greece	Dr 4.—
Guatemala	Q 0.15
Guayana	BWI $ 0.20
Guinea	F.G. 30.—
Haiti	G 0.65
Honduras (Br.)	$ BH 0.20
Honduras	L 0.25
Hong Kong	HK $ 0.70
Hungary	Ft. 1.—
Iceland	Kr 5.—
India	Rs 0.80
Indonesia	Rp. 15.—
Iran	Rl 10.—
Iraq	50 fils
Ireland	11 d
Israel	I £ 0.40
Italy	Lir. 80
Ivory Coast	F.C.F.A. 30.—
Jamaica	11 d
Japan	Yen 50
Jordan	50 fils
Kenya	EAs 0.25
Kuwait	50 fils
Laos	Kip 60.—
Lebanon	P 40.—
Liberia	Lib $ 0.15
Libya	50 Mills
Luxembourg	lfr 6
Madagascar	FM 30.—
Malawi	11 d
Malaysia	M. $ 0.40
Mali	FM 60.—
Mexico	$ 1.50
Morocco	DM —.85
Mozambique	Esc. 1.—
Nepal	Mohur 1.—
Netherlands	hfl 0.50
Netherlands Antilles	G. ant 0.25
New Zealand	9 c.
Nicaragua	C 0.85
Niger	F.C.F.A. 30.—
Nigeria	11 d
Norway	nkr 0.90
Pakistan	Rs 0.60
Panama	B. 0.15
Paraguay	G. 15.—
Peru	S. 3.50
Philippines	P. phil 0.60
Poland	Zl. 0.50
Portugal	Esc. 1.—
Rhodesia	11 d
Ruanda	F. Rw 12.—
Rumania	Leu 0.50
Saudi Arabia	RL 0.60
Sweden	skr 0.60
Switzerland	FS 0.50
Senegal	F.C.F.A. 30.—
Sierra Leone	Le 0.10
Somalia	Sh So 0.90
South Africa	Rand 0.10
South Korea	Won 35.—
S. Viet Nam	V.N. $ 15.—
Spain	Pts 8.—
Sudan	PT 5.—
Syria	£ S 0.50
Tanzania	EAs 0.25
Thailand	B 3.—
Trinidad and Tobago	BWI $ 0.20
Togo	F.C.F.A. 30.—
Turkey	T £ 1.25
Tunisia	65 M
Uganda	EAs 0.25
UAR	PT 5.—
Uruguay	P 20.—
USA	$ 0.25
USSR	Rbl 0.10
Venezuela	B 0.60
Yugoslavia	Din. 1.—
Zambia	11 d